# HISTORY,

#### CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

## BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.
OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

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BULLET COLOURS IN THE WEST INDIES

THE TWO VOLUMES



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ARE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE NATIONAL OPULENCE AND MARITIME POWER,

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LONDON,
3d June, 1793.

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# PREFACE.

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THE discovery of a new hemisphere by Christopher Columbus, and the progress of the Spaniards in the conquest of it, have been deservedly the theme of a long series of histories in the several languages of Europe; and the subject has been recently resumed and illustrated by a celebrated Writer among ourselves.—It is not therefore my intention to tread again in so beaten a track, by the recital of occurrences of which sew can be ignorant, if the noblest exertions of the human mind, producing events the most singular and important in the history of the world, are circumstances deserving admiration and inquiry.

My attempt, which I feel to be fufficiently

arduous, is,

To present the reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands:—

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them:

To describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by cli-

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mate, fituation, and other local causes; comprehending in this part of my book an account of the African slave trade, some observations on the negro character and genius, and reflections on the system of slavery established in our colonies:—

To furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the Sugar Islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton, in particular;—

finally,

To display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the several great interests, the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain:

These, together with several collateral disquisitions, are the topics on which I have endeavoured to collect, and convey to the public, useful and acceptable information. Their importance will not be disputed, and I have only to lament that my abilities are not more

equal to the talk I have undertaken.

But, before I proceed to investigations merely political and commercial, I have ventured on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus; and I have endeavoured to delineate the most prominent seatures in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants. I was led to a research of this

this nature, not merely for the purpose of giving uniformity to my work, but because, having refided many years in the countries of which I write, I prefume to think that I am fomewhat better qualified to judge of the influence of climate and fituation, on the difposition, temper, and intellects of their inhabitants, than many of those writers, who, without the fame advantage, have undertaken to compile fystems, and establish conclusions, on this subject. I conceive that, unless an author has had the benefit of actual experience and personal observation, neither genius nor industry can at all times enable him to guard against the mistakes and misrepresentations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he submits, merely from the want of advantages which those who have possessed them have perverted. He is liable even to be missed by preceding authors, who have undertaken, on no better foundation than himself, to compile histories and form systems on the same subject: for when plausible the-ories are deduced, with ingenuity and eloquence, from facts confidently afferted; he suspects not, or, if he suspects, is cautious of afferting, that the foundation itself (as it frequently happens) is without support; that no such facts actually exist, or, if existing, are accidental and local peculiarities only, not premifes of fufficient extent and importance whereon to ground general conclusions and fyftematical combinations.

I have

I have been induced to make this remark from perufing the speculations of Mons. Buffon and some other French theorists, on the condition and character of the American nations. Whether from a defire to lessen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, or from a strange affectation of paradox and fingularity, falfely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to affert, that the air and climate, or other physical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of soil, climate, and feasons, which prevail in the several great provinces of North and South America; -notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and diffinguished also by many different languages; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species; that they were creatures of no confideration in the book of Nature; -denied the refined invigorating fentiment of love, and not poffeffing even any very powerful degree of animal defire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system entitled ' Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains' declares, with unexampled aved I

unexampled arrogance, that there never has been found, throughout the whole extent of the New World, a fingle individual of superior sagacity to the rest. And the scope of his treatise is to demonstrate, that the poor savages were actuated, not by reason, but by a sort of animal instinct; that Nature, having bestowed on the whole species a certain small degree of intellect, to which they all individually attain, placed an insurmountable barrier against their surther progress:—of course, that they are not (properly speaking) men, but beings of a secondary and subordinate rank in the scale of creation.

Although our own learned Historian \* is much too enlightened to adopt, in their fullest extent, these opinions; -which cannot, indeed, be read without indignation; -yet it is impossible to deny, that they have had some degree of influence in the general estimate which he has framed of the American character: for he ascribes to all the natives of the New World many of those imperfections on which the fystem in question is founded; and repeatedly afferts, " that the qualities belonging to the people of all the different tribes may be painted with the same features +." With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful that the author is fometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told that " the Americans are, in an amazing degree, -wollsh

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Robertson.

<sup>†</sup> History of America, Vol. I. p. 280 and 283.

degree, strangers to the first instinct of mature (a passion for the sex), and, in every part of the New World, treat their women with coldness and indifference \*." Yet we find foon afterwards, that, " in some countries of the New World, the women are valued and admired, the animal passion of the sexes becomes ardent, and the dissoluteness of their manners is excessive +." It is elsewhere obferved, that " the Americans were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it, and funk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease; and it is added, that " this feebleness of constitution was univerfal, and may be considered as characteristic of the species ‡." It appears, however, in a fubsequent page, that " wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour, their constitutions become robust enough to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or Europe | ." Personal debility, therefore, could not have been the peculiar characteristic of the American species; for the human frame, in every part of the globe, acquires strength by gradual employment, and is comparatively feeble without it.

Again: Among the qualities which the Hiftorian confiders as univerfally predominant in the Americans, he ascribes to them, in a remarkable degree, a hardness of heart and a brutal insensibility to the sufferings of their

fellow-

History of America, Vol. I. p. 292. † P. 296.

fellow-creatures \*. " So little (he observes) is the breast of a savage susceptible of those fentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates diftrefs, in some provinces of America the Spaniards have found it necessary to enforce the common duties of humanity by positive laws +." Neither is this account of their inflexibility confined to the ferocious barbarian of the northern provinces, or to the miserable outcast of Terra del Fuego. The author extends his description to all the uncivilized inhabitants of the New Hemisphere. It constitutes a striking feature in his general estimate; for he establishes it as a fixed principle, that " in every part of the deportment of man in his favage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognize the fame character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, without much attention or fenfibility to the fentiments and feelings of the beings around him ||.

Certainly the learned author, while employed in this representation, had wholly forgotten the account which he had before given of the first interview between the Spaniards and the natives of Hispaniola, when a ship of Columbus was wrecked on that island. " As soon (fays the Historian) as they heard of the disaster, they crouded to the shore, with their prince

Guacanahari

History of America, Vol. I. p. 405.

<sup>†</sup> P. 406.

Guacanahari at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the diffress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of fincere condolance. Not fatisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a vast number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, affifted in faving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. Guacanahari in person took charge of the goods, and prevented the multitude not only from embezzling, but even from inspecting too curioully what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince vifited Columbus, and endeavoured to confole him for his loss by offering all that be possessed to repair it."

Thus exceptions present themselves to every general conclusion, until we are burthened with their variety:---And at last we end just where we began; for the wonderful uniformity which is said to have distinguished the American Indians, appears to be as little founded in nature, as it is supported by analogy,

Of the other branches of my work, great part, I presume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of our national settlements in the tropical parts of America. The system of agriculture practised in the West Indies, is almost as much

unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know, indeed, that fugar, and indigo, and coffee, and cotton, are raised and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a furprifing degree, uninformed concerning the method by which those and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection. So remarkable indeed is the want of information in this respect, even among persons of the most extensive geheral knowledge, that in a law question which came by appeal from one of the Sugar Islands a few years ago, the noble and learned lord who prefided at the hearing, thinking it necessary to give some account of the nature of rum and melaffes (much being stated in the pleadings concerning the value of those commodities) affured his auditors with great folemnity, that "melaffes was the raw and unconcocted juice extracted from the cane, and from which fugar was afterwards made by boiling \*!" quality

On the subject of the slave trade, and its concomitant circumstances, so much has been said of late by others, that it may be supposed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account, both of the trade and the situation of the enslaved negroes in the British colonies, differs very essentially from the representations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but also by many of the witnesses that were examined

I give this anecdote on the authority of a Jamaica genetleman who was present; a person of undoubted veracity.

before the house of commons. The public must judge between us, and I should be in no pain about the result, if the characters of some of those persons who have stood forth on this occasion as accusers of the resident planters, were as well known in Great Britain, as they are in the West Indies. What I have written on these subjects has at least this advantage, that great part of my observations are sounded on personal knowledge and actual experience: and with regard to the manners and dispositions of the native Africans, as distinguished by national habits, and characteristic features, I venture to think, that my remarks will be found both new and interesting.

After all, my first object has been truth, not novelty. I have endeavoured to collect useful knowledge wheresoever it lay, and when I found books that could supply what I fought, I have fometimes been content to adopt, without alteration, what was thus furnished to my hands. Thus, extracts and pasfages from former writers occupy fome of my pages; and not having always been careful to note the authorities to which I reforted, I find it now too late to afcertain the full extent of my obligations of this kind. They may be traced most frequently, I believe, in the first and last parts of my work: In the first, because, when I began my task, I had less confidence in my own resources than I found afterwards, when practice had rendered writing familiar to me; and in the last, because, when

my labours grew near to a conclusion, I became weary, and was glad to get affiftance

wherefoever it offered.

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From living rather than from written information, however, have I generally fought affiftance, when my own resources have proved deficient; and it is my good fortune to boast an acquaintance with men, to whom, for local and commercial knowledge, our statesmen and fenators might refort, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public. On this ocasion, neither the gratitude which I owe for favours bestowed, nor the pride which I feel from the bonour of his friendship, will allow me to conceal the name of Edward Long, Esquire, the author of the Jamaica History, to whom I am first and principally indebted; and who, with the liberality which always accompanies true genius, has been as careful to correct my errors, and affiduous to fupply my defects, as if his own well-earned reputation had depended on the iffue.

For great part of the materials which compose the History of Grenada, I am under obligations to Thomas Campbell, Esq. formerly speaker of the assembly of that island, who, through means of a friend, furnished such answers to queries that I sent him, as encourage me to present that portion of my work to the public with a considence which I dare not assume in my account of some other of the islands. Yet, even with regard to most of these, I have no cause to complain that affist-

ance has been oftentimes denied me. Concerning Barbadoes and Saint Christopher's in particular, I have been favoured with much accurate and acceptable information, by John Braithwaite and Alexander Douglas, Esquires, gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with the concerns of those colonies; and the polite and chearful readiness with which they satisfied my enquiries, entitle them to this public testi-

mony of my thanks.

The same tribute is most justly due to Benjamin Vaughan and George Hibbert, Esquires, merchants of London, for many excellent and important remarks, and much valuable matter; which, at length, have enabled me to look back on the commercial disquisitions in the last book, with a degree of satisfaction that at one period I despaired of obtaining; being well apprized that this part of my work will, on many accounts; be most obnoxious to criticifni. That it is now rendered free from miftakes, I do not indeed pretend. In all refearches of a political and commercial nature, the best authorities are sometimes fallible; and there is frequently much difference both in general opinion and particular computation between those who are equally solicitous for the discovery of truth. The facts, however, that I have collected cannot fail to be of use, whether the conclusions I have drawn from them be well founded or not.

I might here close this introductory discourse, and leave my book to the candour of my readers; h

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readers; but having made my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have given me their kind affistance in the compilation of it; and feeling, in common with all the inhabitants of the British West Indies, a just sense of indignation at the malignant and unmerited aspersions which are daily and hourly thrown upon the planters, for supposed improper and inhuman treatment of their African labourers; I should ill acquit myself, as the historian of those colonies, if I omitted this opportunity of giving my testimony to the fulness of their gratitude, their honest pride and lively sensibility, at beholding, in a Son of their beloved Sovereign, the generous affertor of their rights, and the strenuous and able defender of their injured characters, and infulted honour! The condescending and unfolicited interposition of the Duke of Clarence on this occasion, is the more valuable, as, happily for the planters, it is founded on his Royal Highness's personal observation of their manners, and knowledge of their dispositions, acquired on the spot. Thus patronized and protected, while they treat with filent fcorn and deferved contempt the base efforts of those persons who, without the least knowledge of the subject, assail them with obloquy and outrage, they find a dignified support, in the consciousness of their own innocence, even under the misguided zeal and unfavourable prepoffessions of better men. might indeed be hoped, for the interest of truth and humanity, that fuch men would now frank-VOL. I.

ly acknowledge their error, and ingenuously own, that we have been most cruelly traduced, and ignominiously treated: If this be too much to ask, we may at least expect that gentlemen of education and candour will no longer persist in affording countenance to the vulgar prejudices of the envious and illiberal, by giving currency to suggestions which they cannot possibly know to be true, and which we know to be false.

LONDON, 1793.

P. S. The author has to observe, that the first part of the work was written before his Return to the West Indies in the beginning of 1787;—a considerable part while he was there, and the remainder, with most of the notes, since his return to Great Britain, in the autumn of 1792. It may possibly be found therefore, that events and changes of a political and commercial nature have taken place, during the time which elapsed in the progress of the work, that have passed unnoticed in it; and the author is apprehensive also, that there are in some of his pages, from the same cause, appearances of anachronism; which, however, it was impossible wholly to remove, without newly arranging and modelling the work throughout,

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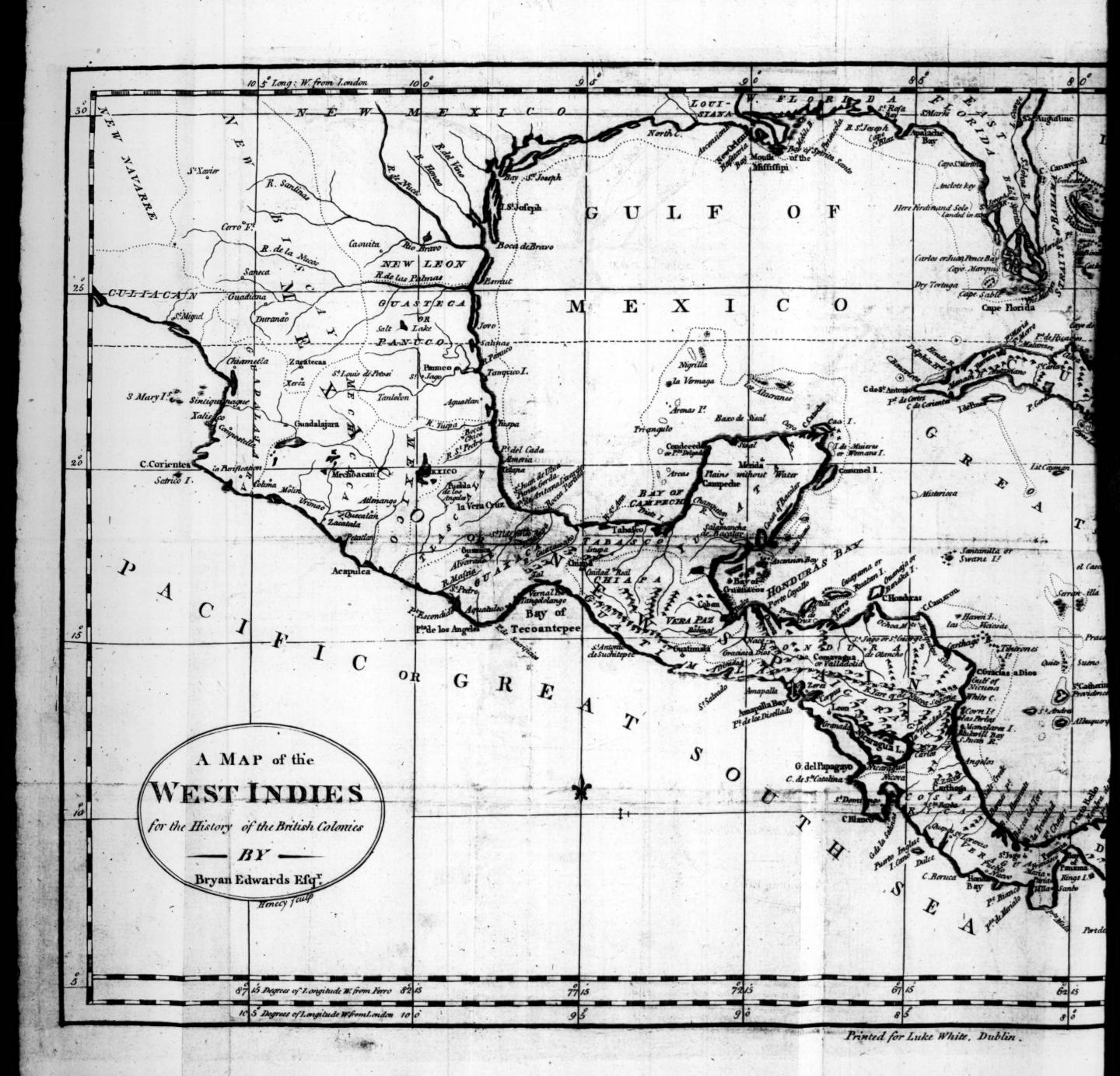
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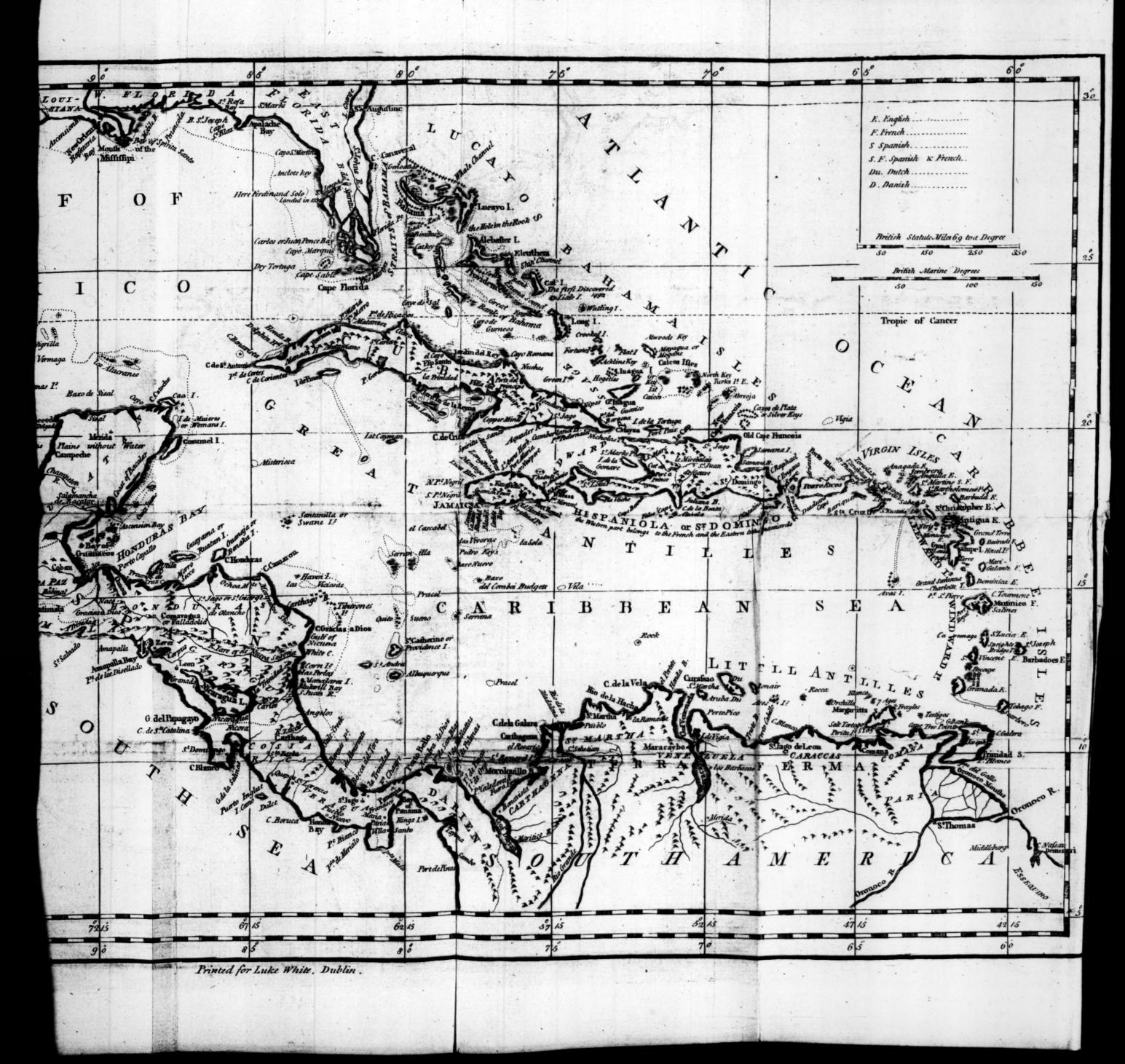
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# HISTOR

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL.

British Colonies in the West Indies.

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# CHAP. I.

Geographical arrangement.—Name.—Climate.
—Sea-breeze, and Land-wind.—Beauty and fingularity of the Degetable and animal creation.—Magnificence and fublimity of the mountains; reflections concerning their orian, 86.7 to wanted box obstituted only attached to

TEOGRAPHERS, following the diffribuin of Nature, divide the vaft Continent of merica into two great parts, North and Arrangeouth; the narrow but mountainous Ifthmus ment. Darien ferving as a link to connect them tother, and forming a rampart against the neroachments of the Atlantic on the one fide. Vol. I.

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BOOK and of the Pacific Ocean on the other. great Oceans were anciently diffinguished also, from their relative fituation, by the names of the North and South Seas. \*

To that prodigious chain of Islands which extend in a curve from the Florida Shore on the Northern Peninfula, to the Gulph of Maracaybo on the Southern, is given the denomination of West Indies, from the name of India originally affigned to them by Columbus. This illustrious Navigator planned his expedition, not, as Raynal and others have supposed, under the idea of introducing a New World to the knowledge of the Old; but, principally, in the view of finding a route to India by a Western navigation; which he was led to think would prove less tedious than by the Coast of Africa; and this conclusion would have been just, if the geography of the Ancients, on which it was founded, had been ac-Indeed, fo firmly perfuaded was curate †. Columbus

\* The appellation of North, applied to that part of the Atlantic which flows into the Gulph of Darien, feems now to be entirely disused; but the Pacific is still commonly called the South Sea. It was discovered in 1513, and, having been first entered towards the South, might, perhaps, have derived its name from that circumftance.

† " The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator contained 360 degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the Seres of Sine being the farthest part of India known to the ancients, was supposed, by Marinus Tyrius, the most emihent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or 225 degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the Seres, or China, was in de actually and to attach a for only

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Columbus of its truth and certainty, that he CHAP. continued to affert his belief of it after the discovery of Cuba and Hispaniola; not doubting that those islands conflituted some part of the Eastern extremity of Asia: and the nations of Europe, satisfied with such authority, concurred in the same idea. Even when the discovery of the Pacific Ocean had demonstrated his miftake, all the countries which Columbus had vifited still retained the name of the Indies; and in contradiffinction to those at which the Portuguese, after passing the Cape of Good Hope, had at length arrived by an eastern course, they were now denominated the Indies of the West \*.

Among the Geographers of those days, however, there were fome, who envying the glory of Columbus, or giving more credit to ancient fable than to the achievements of their cotemporaries, perfifted in affigning to the newly-discovered Islands the appellation of Antilia

only nine hours, or 135 degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary Islands; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the Portuguese were purfuing." From this account, for which the reader is indebted to the learned Dr. Robertson, it is evident that the scheme of Columbus was founded on rational systematical principles, according to the light which his age afforded; whereas if he had proposed, without any such support, to discover a new hemisphere by failing westward; he would have been juftly confidered as an arrogant and chimerical projector, and fuccess itself would not have reconciled his temerity to the fober dictates of reason.

\* Columbus failed on his first voyage the 3d of August, 1492. In 1494 Bartholemus Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vasquez de Gama succeeded (for the first time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then supposed, for-

midable attempt.

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J. of an imaginary country, placed in ancient charts about two hundred leagues to the Westward of Azores; and it is a name still very generally used by foreign Navigators, although the etymology of the word is as uncertan, as the application of it is unjust. To the British nation the name bestowed by Columbus is abundantly more familiar: and thus the whole of the New Hemisphere is, with us, commonly comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West Indies\*.

But, fubordinate to this comprehensive and simple arrangement, necessity or convenience has introduced more minute and local distinctions. That portion of the Atlantic which is separated

\* The term Amiles is applied by Hoffman to the Windward or Charaibean Islands only, and is by him thus ac-counted for: "Dicuntur Antilæ Americæ quasi ante Insulas Americæ, nempe ante majores Insulas Sinus Mexicani." (Hoffman Lexic. Univ.) Rochfort and Du Tertre explain the word nearly in the same manner, while Mons. D'Anville applies the name to those Islands only, which are more immediately opposed to, or fituated against, the Continent: thus he terms Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, the Great Antiles, and the small Islands of Aruba, Curaçoa. Bonair, Magaritta, and some others near the coast of Caraccas on the fouthern Peninfula, the Left; excluding the Charaibean Islands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spanish Historians would have demonstrated to all these writers, that the word Antilia was applied to Hispaniola and Cuba, before the discovery either of the Windward Islands, or any part of the American Continent. This appears from the following passage in the First Book of the First Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the Court of Spain November 1493, eight months only after Columbus's return from his first expedition; "Ophiram Insulam sese reperisse resert: sed Cosmographorum tractu diligenter confiderato, Antilia Insulæ funt illæ et adjacentes aliæ: hanc Hispaniolam appellavit, &c."

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feparated from the main Ocean to the North CHAP. and to the East, by the Islands I have mentioned, although commonly known by the general appellation of the Mexican Gulph, is itfelf properly subdivided into three distinct Basins: the Gulph of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and the Charaibean Sea\*. latter takes its name from that class of Islands which bound this latter part of the Ocean to the East. Most of these were anciently posfeffed by a nation of Cannibals, the scourge and terror of the mild and inoffensive natives of Hispaniola, who frequently expressed to Columbus their dread of those fierce and warlike invaders, Charaibes, or Caribbees †. And it was in confequence of this information, that the Islands to which these favages belonged, when discovered afterwards by Columbus, were by him denominated generally the Charaibean Iflands.

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Of this class, however, a group nearly adjoing to the Eastern fide of St. John de Porto Rico, is likewise called the Virgin Isles; a distinction of which the origin will be explained in its place I.

Neither

Vide Introduction to the West Indian Atlas, by Jefferies.

<sup>†</sup> Herrera, lib. i. Fer. Columbus, chap. xxxiil.

It may be proper to observe, that the old Spanish Navigators, in speaking of the West India Islands in general, frequently distinguish them also into two classes, by the terms Barlovento and Sotavento, from whence our Windward and Leeward Islands; the Charaibean constituting in strict propriety the former class (and as such I shall speak of them in the course of this work), and the four large Islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our English mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean Islands only, subdividing them according

BOOK Neither must it pals unobserved, that the name of Bahama is commonly applied by the English to that cluster of small islands, rocks; and reefs of fand, which ftretch in a Northwesterly direction for the space of near three hundred leagues, from the Northern coast of Hifpaniola to the Bahama Strait, opposite the Florida shore. Whether this appellation is of Indian origin, as commonly supposed, is a question I cannot answer; neither does it merit very anxious investigation : yet these little islands have deservedly a claim to particular notice; for it was one of them \* that had the honour of first receiving Columbus, after a voyage the most bold and magnificent in defign, and the most important in its confequences, of any that the mind of man has conceived; or national adventure undertaken, from the beginning of the world to the prefent hour.

Climate.

Most of the countries of which I propose to treat being fituated beneath the tropic of Cancer, the circumstances of climate, as well in regard to general heat, as to the periodical rains and confequent variation of feafons, are nearly the fame throughout the whole. The temperature of the air varies indeed confiderably according to the elevation of the land; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the fame in all the countries of this part of the globe.

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A tropical year feems properly to comprehend but two distinct seasons; the wet and

cording to their fituation in the course of the trade wind; the Windward Islands by their arrangement terminating, I believe with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

\* Guanahani. The whole group is called by the Spa-

niards Lucayos.

the dry; but as the rains in these climates conflitute two great periods, I shall describe it, like the European year, under four divisions.

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The vernal feafon, or Spring, may be faid to commence with the month of May, when the foliage of the trees evidently becomes more vivid, and the parched favannas begin to change their ruffet hue, even previous to the first periodical rains, which are now daily expected, and generally fet in about the middle of the month. These, compared with the Autumnal rains, may be faid to be gentle showers. They come from the South, and commonly fall every day about noon, and break up with thunder-storms; creating a bright and beautiful verdure, and a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. The thermometer at this feafon varies confiderably; commonly falling fix or eight degrees immediately after the diurnal rains: its medium height may be stated at 75°.

After these rains have continued about a fortnight, the weather becomes dry, fettled, and falutary; and the tropical Summer reigns in full glory. Not a cloud is to be perceived; and the fky blazes with irrefiftible fiercenefs. For fome hours, commonly between feven and ten in the morning, before the fetting in of the sea-breeze or trade-wind, (which at this seafon blows from the fouth-east with great force and regularity until late in the evening) the heat is fcarcely supportable; but, no sooner is the influence felt of this refreshing wind, than all Nature revives, and the climate, in the shade, becomes not only very tolerable, but The thermometer now varies but little in the whole twenty-four hours: its medium, near the coast, may be stated at about

80°.

800 K 80°. I have feldom observed it higher than I. 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at sun-rise.

The nights at this feason are transcendently beautiful. The clearness of the heavens, the ferenity of the air, and the foft tranquillity in which Nature reposes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the most calm and delightful fensations. The moon too in these climates displays far greater radiance than in Europe; the smallest print is legible by her light; and in the moon's absence her function is not ill supplied by the brightness of the milky-way, and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with fo refulgent a beam as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects, making full amends for the short stay and abrupt departure of the crepuschlum or twilight \*.

This state of the weather commonly continues, with little variation, from the beginning of June until the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze begins to intermit, and the atmosphere becomes sultry, incommodious, and suffocating. In the latter end of this month, and most part of September, we look about in vain for coolness and comfort. The thermometer occasionally exceeds 90°, and instead of a steady and refreshing wind from the sea, there

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<sup>\*</sup> In the mountainous and interior parts of the larger islands, innumerable fire-flies abound at night, which have a surprising appearance to a stranger. They consist of disferent species, some of which emit a light, resembling a spark of sire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their sides in the act of respiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all sides, like so many living stars, to the great association of a traveller unaccustomed to the country.—In the day-time they disappear.

are usually faint breezes and calms alternately. CHAP. These are preludes to the second periodical or Autumnal feafon. Large towering clouds, fleecy, and of a reddish hue, are now seen, in the morning, in the quarters of the fouth, and foutheaft; the tops of the mountains at the fame time appear clear of clouds, and the objects upon them wear a blueish cast, and seem much nearer to the spectator than usual. these vast accumulations of vapour have risen to a confiderable height in the atmosphere, they commonly move horizontally towards the mountains, proclaiming their progress in deep and rolling thunder, which, reverberated from peak to peak, and answered by the distant roaring of the sea, heightens the majesty of the scene, and irrefistibly lifts up the mind of the spectator to the great Author of all sublimity.

The waters, however, with which these congregated vapours load the atmosphere, seldom fall with great and general force until the beginning of October. It is then that the heavens pour down cataracts. An European who has not visited these climates, can form no just conception of the quantity of water which deluges the earth at this season: by an exact account which was kept of the perpendicular height of the water which fell in one year in Barbadoes (and that no ways remarkable) it appeared to have been equal to sixty-seven cubi-

cal inches.

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It is now (in the interval between the beginning of August and the latter end of October) that hurricanes, those dreadful visitations of the Almighty, are apprehended. The prognostics of these elementary conflicts, have been minutely

800 R 80°. I have feldom observed it higher than 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at sun-rife.

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BOOK minutely described by various writers, and their effects are known by late mournful experience to every inhabitant of every island within the tropics, but their immediate cause seems to lie far beyond the limits of our cir-

cumscribed knowledge.

Towards the end of November, or sometimes not till the middle of December, a considerable change in the temperature of the air is perceivable. The coasts to the northward are now beaten by a rough and heavy sea, roaring with incessant noise; the wind varies from the east to the north-east and north, sometimes driving before it, across the highest mountains, not only heavy rains but hail; till at length, the north wind having acquired sufficient force, the atmosphere is cleared; and now comes on a succession of serene and pleasant weather, the north-east and northerly winds spreading coolness and delight throughout the whole of this burning region.

If this interval, therefore, from December to March, be called winter, it is certainly the finest winter on the globe. To valetudinarians and persons advanced in life, it is the climate

of Paradife.

The account which I have thus given is, however, to be received not as uniformly exact and minutely particular; but as a general representation only, subject to many variations and exceptions. In the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, whose losty mountains are clothed with forests perhaps as old as the deluge, the rains are much more frequent and violent than in the small islands to windward; some of which are without mountains, and others without wood; both powerful agents

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on the atmosphere. In the interior and elevated districts of the three former islands, I believe there are showers in every month of the year; and on the northern coasts of those islands, considerable rains are expected in December or January, soon after the setting in of the north winds.

Of the trade-wind, or diurnal fea-breeze, which blows in these climates from the east, and its collateral points, with hitle intermission or variation nine months in the year, the caufes having been traced and displayed with great diligence and accuracy by Dr. Halley, and repeated by numerous writers, it is unnecessary for me to treat; but the peculiarity of the landwind by night (than which nothing can be more grateful and refreshing) has been less generally noticed. This is an advantage, among others, which the larger islands of the West Indies derive from the great inequality of their furface; for as foon as the fea-breeze dies away, the hot air of the plains being rarefied, ascends towards the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed by the cold; which making it specifically heavier than it was before, it defeends back to the plains on both fides of the ridge. Hence a night-wind is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all fides from the land towards the shore, so that on a north shore the wind shall come from the fouth, and on the fouth shore from the north. Agreeably to this hypothefis, it is observable that in the islands to windward, where they have no mountains, they have no land-breeze

But

The account thus given of the land-wind, is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose description is so pre-

BOOK But I now turn to seenes of uncommon variety and lustre; to a retrospect of these islands as they must have appeared to the first discoverers; than which, beheld from the fea, no objects in nature could have been more striking to the imagination; not only from the novelty of the fcene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose lofty mountains form a stupendous and awful picture; the subject both of wonder and contemplation. Nor did these promising territories disap-

point expectation on a nearer fearch and more accurate inspection. Columbus, whose veraeity has never been suspected, speaks of their beauty and fertility in terms of the highest admiration: "There is a river (he observes in one " of his letters to King Ferdinand) which dif-" charges itself into the harbour that I have " named Porto Santo \*, of fufficient depth to " be navigable. I had the curiofity to found " it, and found eight fathom. Yet the water " is fo limpid, that I can eafily discern the fand at the bottom. The banks of this river er are embellished with lofty palm-trees, whose " shade gives a delicious freshness to the air; and the birds and the flowers are uncommon " and beautiful. I was fo delighted with the

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cife and accurate as to admit of no improvement. Barbadoes, and most of the small islands to windward, the fea-breeze blows as well by night as by day. It is fometimes the cafe in Jamaica in the months of June and July, the land at that time being heated to fuch a degree, that the air of the mountains is not fufficiently dense to check the current which flows from the fea.

" fcene, that I had almost come to the resolu-

\* In Cuba.

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" tion of staying here the remainder of my CHAP.
" days; for believe me, Sire, these countries L

" far furpass all the rest of the world in plea-" fure and conveniency; and I have frequent-

" ly observed to my people, that, with all my

" endeavours to convey to your Majesty an .
" adequate idea of the charming objects which

" continually present themselves to our view,

" the description will fall greatly short of the

" reality."

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How ill informed, or prejudiced, are those late writers, therefore, who, affecting to difbelieve, or endeavouring to palliate, the enormities of the Spanish invaders, represent these once delightful spots, when first discovered by Columbus, to have been fo many impenetrable and unhealthy deferts! It is true, that after the Spaniards, in the course of a few bloody years, had exterminated the ancient and rightful possessors, the earth, left to its own natural fertility, beneath the influence of a tropical fun, teemed with noxious vegetation. Then, indeed, the fairest of the islands became so many frightful folitudes, impervious and unwhole-Such was the condition of Jamaica when wrested from the Spanish Crown in 1655, and fuch is the condition of great part of Cuba and Porto Rico at this day; for the infinitely wife and benevolent Governor of the universe, to compel the exertion of those faculties which he has given us, has ordained, that by human cultivation alone, the earth becomes the proper habitation of man \*.

But

Dr. Lind, in his "Effay on the Difeases of Hot Climates," has preserved an extract from the Journal of an Officer who sailed up a river on the coast of Guines, which

BOOK But as the West Indian Islands in their ancient state were not without culture, so neither were they generally noxious to health. The plains or favannas were regularly fown, twice in the year, with that species of grain which is now well known in Europe by the name of Turkey Wheat. It was called by the Indians Mahez, or Maize; a name it still bears in all the Islands; nor does it require very laborious This however constituted but a cultivation. part only, and not the most considerable part, of the vegetable food of the natives. As these countries were at the fame time extremely populous, both the hills and the vallies (of the fmaller islands especially) were necessarily cleared of underwood, and the trees which remained afforded a shade that was cool, airy, and delicious. Of these, some, as the papaw and the palmeto \*, are, without doubt, the most graceful of all the vegetable creation. Others continue to bud, bloffom, and bear fruit throughout the year. Nor is it undeferving notice, that the great Father of mankind has displayed

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which affords a striking illustration of this remark: "We " were (fays the Officer) thirty miles diftant from the fea, " in a country altogether uncultivated, overflowed with " water-furrounded with thick impenetrable woods, and " over-run with flime. The air was fo vitiated, noisome " and thick, that our torches and candles burnt dim, " and feemed ready to be extinguished; and even the human " voice lost its natural tone." Part I. p. 64.

\* The species here meant (for there are several) is the palmeto-royal, or mountain-cabbage. Ligon mentions some, at the first settlement of Barbadoes, about 200 feet in height; but Mr. Hughes observes, that the highest in his time, in that illand, was 134 feet. I am inclined to believe, that I have feen them in Jamaica upwards of 150 feet in height; but it is impossible to speak with certainty without an actual measurement.

his goodness even in the structure and formation of the trees themselves; for, the soliage of the most part springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-spreading branches, closely but elegantly arranged, every grove is an assemblage of majestic columns, supporting a verdant canopy, and excluding the sun, without impeding the circulation of the air. Thus the shade, at all times impervious to the blaze, and refreshed by the diurnal breeze, assorbed, not merely a refuge from occasional inconveniency, but a most wholesome and delightful retreat and habitation.

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Such were these orchards of the Sun, and woods of perennial verdure; of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and less vigorous soil of Europe; for what is the oak compared to the cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk frequently measures from eighty to nine-ty feet from the base to the limbs? What European forest has ever given birth to a stem equal to that of the ceiba \*, which alone, simply rendered concave, has been known to produce a boat capable of containing one hundred persons? or the still greater fig, the sovereign of the vegetable creation,—itself a forest †?

The majestic scenery of these tropical groves was at the same time enlivened by the singular forms of some, and the surprising beauty of others of the inferior animals which possessed

<sup>\*</sup> The wild cotton tree.

<sup>†</sup> This monarch of the woods, whose empire extends over Asia and Africa, as well as the tropical parts of America, is described by our divine Poet with great exactness:

be more fully described in the sequel, a few observations which at present occur to me, will, I hope, be forgiven. If it be true, that in most of the regions of the torrid zone the heat of the sun is, as it were, reslected in the untameable sierceness of their wild beasts, and in the exalted rage and venom of the numerous serpents with which they are insested, the Sovereign Disposer of all things has regarded the Islands of the West Indies with peculiar favour; inasmuch as their serpents are wholly destitute of poison \*, and they possess no animal

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd, But fuch as at this day to Indians known In Malabar and Decan, spreads her arms, Branching so broad and long, that in the ground The bearded twigs take root, and daughters grow Above the mother tree, a pillar'd shade, High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between!

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Paradife Loft, Book IX.

It is called in the East Indies the banyon tree. Mr. Marfden gives the following account of the dimensions of one, near Manjee, twenty miles west of Patna in Bengal: Diameter, 363 to 375 feet; circumference of the shadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the several stems, in number sifty or fixty, 921 feet. Hist. Sumatra, p. 131.

\* I say this on the authority of Brown, Charlevoix, and Hughes (of whom the first compiled the History of Jamaica, the second that of Hispaniola, and the last of Barbadoes)—on the testimony of many gentlemen who have resided in several of the Windward Islands—and on my own experience during a residence of sisteen years in Jamaica. In that time I neither knew nor heard of any person being hurt from the bite of any one species of the numerous snakes or lizards known in that island. Some of the snakes I have myself handled with persect security. I conclude, therefore (notwithstanding the contrary affertion of Du Tertre respecting Martinico and St. Lucia) that all the Islands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that the circum-

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of prey, to desolate their vallies. The crocodile, or alligator, is indeed sometimes discovered on the banks of their rivers; but notwithstanding all that has been said of its sierce and savage disposition, I pronounce it, from my own knowledge, a cautious and timid creature, avoiding, with the utmost precipitation, the approach of man. The rest of the lizard kind are perfectly innocent and inossensive. Some of them are even fond of human society. They embellish our walks by their beauty, and court our attention by gentleness and frolic; but their kindness, I know not why, is returned by aversion and disgust. Anciently the woods Vol. I.

flance is extraordinary; inafmuch as every part of the continent of America, but especially those provinces which lie under the Equator, abound in a high degree with ferpents, whose bite is mortal. Mr. Bancroft, in his Account of Guiana, gives a dreadful lift of fuch as are found in that extenfive country; and, in speaking of one of a species which he calls the fmall labarra, makes mention of a negro who was unfortunately bit by it in the finger. The negro had but just time to kill the fnake, when his limbs became unable to support him, and he fell to the ground, and expired in less than five minutes .- Dr. Dancer, in his History of the Expedition from Jamaica to Fort Juan on the Lake of Nicaragua, in 1780, which he attended as physician, relates the following circumstance: A snake hanging from the bough of a tree bit one of the foldiers, as he paffed along, just under the orbit of the left eye; from whence the poor man felt such intense pain, that he was unable to proceed: and when a meffenger was fent to him a few hours afterwards, he was found dead, with all the fymptoms of putrefaction, a yellowness and swelling over his whole body; and the eye near to which he was bitten, wholly diffolved. This circumstance was confirmed to me by Colonel Kemble, who commanded in chief on that expedition. It may not be useless to add, that those serpents which are venomous are furnished with fangs somewhat refembling the tulks of a boar; they are moveable, and inferted in the upper jaw.

BOOK of almost all the equatorial parts of America abounded with various tribes of the smaller monkey; a fportive and fagacious little creature, which the people of Europe feem likewife to have regarded with unmerited deteftation; for they hunted them down with fuch barbarous affiduity, that in feveral of the islands every species of them has been long fince exterminated. Of the feathered race too, many tribes have now nearly deferted those shores where polished man delights in spreading universal and capricious destruction. Among these, one of the most remarkable was the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, as large as the fwan, and arrayed in plumage of the brightest scarlet. Numerous, however, are the feathered kinds, defervedly diftinguished by their fplendour and beauty, that still animate these fylvan recesses. The parrot, and its various affinities from the maccaw to the perroquet, fome of them not larger than a sparrow, are too well known to require description. These are as plentiful in the larger islands of the West Indies as the rook is in Europe. But the boast of American groves is doubtless the colibry, or humming bird; of the brilliance of whose plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The confummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blended and enveloped beneath a transparent veil of waving gold, are distinguishable in every species, but differently arranged and apportioned in each. Nor is the minuteness of its form less the object of admiration, than the lustre of its plumage; the fmallest species not exceeding the fize of a beetle,

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beetle, and appearing the link which connects CHAP. the bird and infect creation.

It has been frequently observed, that although nature is profuse of ornament to the birds of the torrid zone, she has bestowed far greater powers of melody on those of Europe; and the observation is partly true. That prodigality of music which in the vernal season renders every grove in Great Britain delightful, is unknown to the shades of equatorial regions; yet are not these altogether filent or in-The note of the mock-bird is harmonious. deservedly celebrated, while the hum of myriads of bufy infects, and the plaintive melody of the innumerable variety of doves abounding in these climates, form a concert, which, if it ferve not to awaken the fancy, contributes at least to footh the affections, and, like the murmuring of a rivulet, gives harmony to repole.

But, refigning to the naturalist the task of minutely describing the splendid aerial tribes of these regions, whose variety is not less remarkable than their beauty, I now return from these, the smallest and most pleasing forms of active life, to the largest and most awful ob-The transition is jects of inanimate nature. abrupt; but it is in the magnitude, extent, and elevation of the mountains of the New World, that the Almighty has most strikingly manifested the wonders of his omnipotence. Those of South America are supposed to be nearly twice the height of the highest in the ancient hemisphere, and, even under the equator, have their tops involved in everlasting snow. To those massive piles, the lostiest summits of the most elevated of the West Indian Islands can-

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BOOK not indeed be compared; but some of these rife, neverthelefs, in amazing grandeur, and are among the first objects that fix the attention of the voyager. The mountains of Hifpaniola in particular, whose wavy ridges are descried from sea at the distance of thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in stupendous magnificence, and the blue mountains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have heard, Neither curiofity nor been fully explored. avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmost of those lofty regions. In such of them as are accessible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the infects are feen also to differ from those which are met with below. To an unaccustomed spectator, looking down from those heights, the whole scene appears like enchantment. The first object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vast expanse of vapour, covering the whole face of the vallies. Its boundaries being perfectly diffinct, and vifibly circumscribed, it has the exact refemblance of an immense body of water, while the mountains appear like fo many islands in the midst of a beautiful lake. As the fun increases in force, the prospect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; disclosing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of industry, heightened and embellished by the full blaze of a tropical fun. In the equatorial feafon, scenes of still greater magnificence frequently present themselves; for, while all is calm and ferene in the higher regions, the clouds are feen below fweeping along the fides of the mountains in vast bodies; till, growing more

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more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at CHAP. length in torrents of water on the plains. The found of the tempest is distinctly heard by the spectator above; the distant lightening is seen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thousand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

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But lofty as the tropical mountains generally are, it is wonderfully true, that all the known parts of their fummits furnish incontestible evidence that the sea had once dominion over them. Even their appearance at a distance affords an argument in support of this conclusion. Their ridges refemble billows, and their various inequalities, inflexions, and convexities, feem justly ascribable to the fluctuations of the deep. As in other countries too, marine shells are found in great abundance in various parts of these heights. I have seen on a mountain in the interior parts of Jamaica petrified oysters dug up, which perfectly refembled, in every the most minute particular, the large oysters of the western coast of England; a species not to be found at this time, I believe, in the seas of the West Indies. Here, then, is an ample field for conjecture to expatiate in; and indeed few subjects have afforded greater exercise to the pens of physical writers, than the appearances I have mentioned. Some philosophers affign the origin of all the various inequalities of the earth to the rava-Others, confidering the ges of the deluge. mountains as the parents of fprings and rivers, maintain that they are coeval with the world; and that, first emerging from the abyss, they were created with it. Some again alcribe them to the force of volcanos and earthquakes: "the " Almighty," I. fubterranean fires to swallow up cities and plains in one part of the globe, causes them to produce promontories and islands in another, which afterwards become the fruitful seats of

industry and happiness.

All these and other theorists concur, however, in the belief that the surface of the globe has undergone many surprising and violent convulsions and changes since it first came from the hands of the Creator. Hills have sunk into plains, and vallies have been exalted into hills. Respecting the numerous islands of the West Indies, they are generally considered as the tops of losty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into islands by a tremendous concussion of nature, which, increasing the natural course of the ocean from East to West, has laid a vast extent of level country under water \*.

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But notwithstanding all that has been written on this subject, very little seems to be known. The advocates of this system do not sufficiently consider, that the sea could not have covered so great a portion of land on one side of the globe without leaving an immense space as suddenly dry on the other. We have no record in history of so mighty a revolution, nor indeed are many of the premises on which this hypothesis is built, established in truth.

Perhaps, instead of considering these islands as the fragments of a desolated continent, we ought rather to regard them as the rudiments of a new one. It is extremely probable, that many of them, even now, are but beginning

<sup>\*</sup> See L'Abbé Raynal, L'Abbé Pluche, and others.

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to emerge from the bosom of the deep. Mr. CHAP. Buffon has shewn, by incontrovertible evidence, that the bottom of the fea bears an exact refemblance to the land which we inhabit; confifting, like the earth, of hills and vallies, plains and hollows, rocks, fands and foils of every confistence and species. To the motion of the waves, and the fediments which they have deposited, he imputes too, with great probability, the regular positions of the various strata or layers which compose the upper parts of the earth; and he shews that these strata cannot have been the effect of a fudden revolution, but of causes slow, gradual, and fuccessive in their operations. To the flow of tides and rivers, depositing materials which have been accumulating ever fince the creation, and the various fluctuations of the deep operating thereon, he ascribes, therefore, most of the great changes which have happened in the original structure of our globe, and the rife of many of those heights and inequalities which in some parts embellish, and in others (to our limited view at least) deface it.

But by what means did thefe materials, when accumulated together, and raifed to the utmost teach of the furrounding fluid, still continue to increase till they became elevated to the height at which we now behold the Alps and the Andes? Who can believe that the ocean, on Mr. Buffon's system, has at any time lifted up his waves to the peak of Teneriff, or the nows of Chimborazo \*? These are points that mock our refearches; for conjectures are

The highest of the Andes.

BOOK endless, and the labours of the wisest of men afford but a glimmering of light to direct us in tracing the wonders of creation. They who seem best qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will most readily acknowledge that it is not for men to unfold the page of Omnipotence!—Happy, if to conscious ignorance they add humble adoration.

## CHAP. II.

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Of the Charaibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Islands.—Origin.—Difficulties attending an accurate investigation of their character.—Such particulars related as are least disputed concerning their manners and dispositions, persons and domestic habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures, and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c.—Some restections drawn from the whole.

HAVING thus given an account of the climate and seasons, and endeavoured to convey to the reader some faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of Nature arrayed the surface of these numerous Islands, I shall now proceed to enquire after those

those inhabitants to whose support and conve- CHAP. niency they were chiefly found subservient, II. when they first came to the knowledge of

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It hath been observed in the preceding chapter that Columbus, on his first arrival at Hispaniola, received information of a barbarous and warlike people, a nation of Cannibals, who frequently made depredations on that, and the neighbouring Islands. They were called Caribbees, or Charaibes, and were represented as coming from the East. Columbus, in his second voyage, discovered that they were the inhabitants of the Windward Islands.

The great difference in language and character between these savages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hifpaniola, Jamaica and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin also, was different. Of this there seems indeed to be but little doubt; but the question from whence each class of Islands was first peopled, is of more difficult folution. Rochefort, who published his account of the Antiles in 1658, pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally a nation of Florida, in North America.—He supposes that a colony of the Apalachian Indians having been driven from that continent, arrived at the Windward Iflands, and exterminating the ancient male inhabitants, took possession of their lands, and their women. Of the larger islands abovementioned, he prefumes that the natural strength, extent and population affording fecurity to the natives, these happily escaped the destruction which overtook their unfortunate neighbours; and thus arose the distinction obBOOK, servable between the inhabitants of the larger

and fmaller iflands\*.

To this account of the origin of the Infular Charaibes, the generality of historians have given their affent; but there are doubts attending it that are not eafily folved. If they migrated from Florida, the imperfect state and natural course of their navigation, induce a belief that traces of them would have been found on those islands which are near to the Florida Shore; yet the natives of the Bahamas, when discovered by Columbus, were evidently a fimilar people to those of Hispaniola +. Besides, it is sufficiently known that there existed anciently many numerous and powerful tribes of Charaibes, on the Southern Peninfula, extending from the river Oronoko to Essequebe, and throughout the whole province of Surinam, even to Brafil; some of which still maintain their independency. It was with one of those tribes that our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh formed an alliance, when that commander made his romantic expedition to the coast of Guiana in 15951; and by him we are affured that the Charaibes of that part of the Continent, fpoke the language of Dominica §. I incline therefore to the opinion of Martyr ||, and conclude that the islanders were rather a Colony from the Charaibes of South America, than from any nation of the North. Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred conflantly

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† Herera, lib. ix. chap. ii.

Rochefort Histoire des Isles Antilles, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, P. Labat nouveau Voyage aux Isles de L'Amerique, tom. iv. c. xv.

<sup>1</sup> Bancrost's History of Guiana, p. 259.

<sup>§</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 668. P. Martyr, Decad. 2. lib. i.

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flantly to Guiana\*. It does not appear that CHAP. they entertained the most remote idea of a II. Northern ancestry.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the Continental Charaibes, were themselves emigrants from the Northern to the Southern Peninsula: But, without attempting to controvert the position, to which recent discoveries seem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely that the Asiatic Continent first furnished inhabitants to the contiguous North-Western parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a distinct race, widely differing from all the Nations of the New Hemisphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who ascribe to them an oriental ancestry from across the Atlantic †.

Enquiries however into the origin of a remote and unlettered race, can be profecuted with fuccess only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies with those of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or most of those particulars respecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in perpetual warfare, hunted from island to island by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to those who might have been qualified for such refearches.

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, Note 94 to Dr. Robertson's History of America. The people called Galibis, mentioned by Dr. R. are the Charaibes of the Continent, the term Galibis or Calibis (as it is written by Du Tertre) being, as I conceive, corrupted from Caribbee. Vide Lasitau, tom. i. p. 297. and Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 360.

<sup>†</sup> Some arguments in support of this opinion are subjoined in the Appendix to Book I.

BOOK fearches, of investigating the natural dispositions and habitual customs with minuteness and precision. Neither indeed could a just estimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of fuch of them as were at length subjugated to the European yoke; for they loft, together with their freedom, many of their original characteristics; and at last even the defire of acting from the impulse of their own minds. We discern, fays Rochefort\*, a wonderful change in the dispositions and habits of the Charaibes. In fome refpects we have enlightened, in others (to our shame be it spoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addreffed one of our planters on this fubject :- " Our people, " he complained, are become almost as bad as " yours.-We are fo much altered fince you " came among us, that we hardly know our-" felves, and we think it is owing to fo me-" lancholy a change, that hurricanes are more " frequent than they were formerly. It is " the evil fpirit who has done all this,-who " has taken our best lands from us, and given " us up to the dominion of the Christians †.

\* Rochefort. liv. ii. ch. ix. p. 436.

† This extract from Rochefort is surely a sufficient answer to the observations of Mons. de Chanvalon, who wrote so late as 1751, and judging of all the Charaibes from the sew with whom he had any communication, represents them as not possessing any sagacity or foresight beyond mere animal instinct. He makes no allowance for their degradation in a state of captivity and servitude, although in another part of his book, speaking of the African blacks in the West Indies, he dwells strongly on this circumstance respecting the latter. "Peut on connoitre (he observes)" le vrai genie d'un peuple opprime, qui voit sans cesse les "chatimens levès sur sa tete, et la violence toujours prête "chatimens levès sur sa tete, et la violence toujours prête

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rête u à My present investigation must therefore be CHAP. necessarily defective. Nevertheless, by selecting and combining such memorials as are least controverted, I shall hope to exhibit a few striking particulars in the character of this ill-stated people, which, if I mistake not, will lead to some important conclusions in the study of human nature.

Their fierce spirit and warlike disposition have already been mentioned. Historians have not failed to notice these, among the most distinguishable of their qualities \*.—Restless, enterprizing and ardent, it would seem they considered war as the chief end of their creation, and the rest of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorse the bodies of such of their enemies (the men at least) as fell into their hands.—This custom is so repugnant to our feelings, that for a century

"à être soutenue par la politique et la sûreté publique? "Peut on juger de la valeur, quand elle est enchainée, et "fans armes?"—Voyage a la Martinique, p. 58.

\* Dr. Robertson, in note 93 to the first vol. of his History of America, quotes from a MS. History of Ferdinand and Isabella, written by Andrew Bernaldes, the cotemporary and friend of Columbus, the following instance of the bravery of the Charaibes. "A canoe with four " men, two women, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with " Columbus's fleet. A Spanish bark with 25 men was lent " to take them, and the fleet in the mean time cut off their " communication with the shore. Instead of giving way " to despair, the Charaibes seized their arms with undaunt-" ed resolution, and began the attack, wounded several of " the Spaniards although they had targets as well as other " defensive armour, and even after the canoe was overfet, " it was with no little difficulty and danger that some of " them were fecured, as they continued to defend themselves, " and to use their bows with great dexterity while swim-" ming in the fea." - Herrara has recorded the same anecdote.

BOOK tury past, until the late discoveries of a fimilar practice in the countries of the Pacific Ocean. the philosophers of Europe had boldly impeached the veracity of the most eminent ancient voyagers who had first recorded the exiftence of it. Even Labat, who refided in the West Indies at a period when some of the Islands still remained in possession of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion that inflances of this abominable practice among them, were at all times extremely rare;—the effect only of a fudden impulse of revenge arising from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excursions to the larger islands for the purpose of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of feizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies \*.

Nevertheless there is no circumstance in the History of Mankind better attested than the universal prevalence of these practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hispaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himself at Guadaloupe on its first discovery t, he beheld in several cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently separated, and evidently kept for occasional repasts: He released, at the same time, several of the natives of Borriquen (or Porto Rico) who, having been brought captives from thence, were reserved as victims for the same

horrid purpose . 1

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<sup>\*</sup> Labat. tom. iv. p. 322. † November 4, 1493. † F. Columbus, cap. xlvi. Peter Martyr, Decad. I. lib. ii. Herrara, lib. ii. cap. vii. See also Bancrost's History of Guiana, p. 259, who is of opinion, that no other

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Thus far it must be confessed, the disposition CHAP. of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be considered rather as beasts of prey, than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as justifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the siercest monsters of the wilderness; since they who shew no mercy, are entitled to no pity.—

But among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly and affectionate \*. They confidered all strangers indeed, as enemies; and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation.—The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is faid to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they confidered those islanders as a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America, with whom the Charaibes of that continent are continually at war t. We can affign no cause for fuch hereditary and irreconcileable hostility.— The custom of eating the bodies of those they had flain in battle excites our abhorrence, yet it may be doubted whether this abhorrence does not arife as much from the bias of our education, as from the spontaneous and original dictates of our nature. It is allowed that with regard to the people of Europe, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence,

other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestible.

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Du Tertre. tom. ii. p. 359. † Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. x. p. 449.

BOOK it was given without reserve. Their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable.

The Charaibes of Guiana still fondly cherish the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colours which he lest

with them at parting \*.

Of the loftiness of their sentiments and their abhorrence of flavery, a writer, not very partial towards them, gives the following illustration: "There is not a nation on earth (fays " Labat) † more jealous of their independen-" cy than the Charaibes. They are impatient " under the least infringement of it; and " when, at any time, they are witneffes to the " respect and deference which the natives of " Europe observe towards their superiors, " they despife us as abject flaves; wondering " how any man can be so base as to crouch " before his equal." Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates also that when kidnapped and carried from their native islands into flavery, as they frequently were, the miferable captives commonly funk under a fenfe of their condition, and finding refistance or escape hopeless, sought refuge in death from the calamities of it 1.

To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and

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† Labat, tom. iv. p. 329.

<sup>\*</sup> Bancroft, p. 259.

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Labat relates that the foilowing fentiment was proverbial among the first French settlers in the Windward Islands:—" Regarder de travers un Charaibe, c'est le battre, et que de le battre c'est le tuer, ou s'exposer à en être tue." Labat, tom. ii. p. 74.

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improvements of civilized life. Of our fire- CHAP arms they foon learnt by fatal experience, the II. fuperiority to their own weapons, and those therefore they valued: but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amusements and baubles of children:—hence the propensity to thest, so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

The ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they feldom appeared chearful at home. Reflections on past miscarriage, or anxious schemes of future achievement, seemed to fill up many of their hours, and rendered them habitually thoughtful, penfive and filent \*. Love itself, which exerts its influence in the frozen deferts of: Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes t. Their infentibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives 1, has been remarked by many writers; and it must have arisen from extrinsic causes;—from the predominance of passions strong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully disposes to voluptuoufness, and awakens the instincts of nature much fooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was distinguishable even in their perfons. Though not fo tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quick-Vol. I. nels,

thid, c. xxii.

Du Terre, tom. if. + Rochefort, c. xi.

BOOK nefs, and a wildness in their eyes, that seemed an emanation from a fierce and martial fpirit \*. But, not fatisfied with the workmanship of nature, they called in the affiftance of art, tomake themselves more formidable. painted their faces and bodies with arnotto fo extravagantly, that it was with difficulty their natural complexion, which was nearly that of a Spanish olive, was discoverable under the furface of crimfon t. However, as this mode of painting themselves was practifed by both sexes, perhaps it was at first introduced as a defence against the venomous infects so common in tropical climates, or possibly they considered the brilliancy of the colour as highly ornamental; but the men had other methods of deforming their persons, which mere perversion of taste alone, would not, I think, have induced them to adopt. They disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, which they stained with black, and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage of the noftrils, and inferted the bone of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoifeshell 1,-a frightful custom, practifed also by the natives of New Holland |, and they firing together the teeth of fuch of their enemies as they had flain

| Hawkefworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.

<sup>\*</sup> Oviedo, lib. iii. This agrees likewise with the Chevalier Pinto's account of the Brasilians in note 42 to vol. i. of Dr. Robertson's History. "At the first aspect a Southern American appears to be mild and innocent, but, on a more attentive veiw, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful and fullen."

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539. † Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.

in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, CHAP.

as trophies of fuccessful cruelty \*.

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To draw the bow with unerring skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to fwim with agility and boldness, to catch fish and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indispensible necessity, and the education of their children was well fuited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys skilful, even in infancy, in the exercise of the bow, was to fuspend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permission to eat †. But these were fubordinate objects:-The Charaibes inflructed their youth, at the same time, in lesfons of patience and fortitude; they endea -. voured to inspire them with courage in war, and a contempt of danger and death; - above all things to inftil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge

\* Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

† See Rochefort, c. xxviii. p. 555, and Gumilla, tom. Their arrows were commonly poisoned, ex-11. p. 283. cept when they made their military excursions by night. On those occasions they converted them into instruments of ftill greater mischief; for by arming the points with pledgets of cotton dipt into oil, and fet on flame, they fired whole villages of their enemies at a diffance . The poiion which they used, was a concoction of noxious gums and vegetable juices t, and had the property of being perfectly innocent when received into the stomach, but if communicated immediately to the blood, through the flightest wound, it was generally mortal. The Indians of Guiana still prepare a fimilar poison. It is supposed however that fugar speedily administered in large quantities, is an antidote. (See Relation Abregee d'un Voyage, &c. par Monf. de la Condamine, and Bancroft's Hift. of Guiana.)

Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559. † Oviedo, lib. iii.

BOOK towards the Arowauks. The means which they adopted for these purposes were in some respects superstitious; in others cruel and detestable.

As foon as a male child was brought into the world, he was sprinkled with some drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies used on this occasion were fufficiently painful to the father, but he submitted without emotion or complaint; fondly believing that the fame degree of courage which he had himself displayed, was by these means transmitted to his fon \*. As the boy grew, he was foon made familiar with scenes of barbarity; he partook of the horrid repasts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a flaughtered Arrowauk; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to share the glories of conquest, until his fortitude had been brought to the test. The dawn of manhood ushered in the hour of se-He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more founding and fignificant; -a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always accompanied by a scene of ferocious festivity and unnatural cruelty t.

The severities inflicted on such occasions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of superstition in suppressing the most powerful feelings of nature; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch records the pre-

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxv. p. 552.

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377.

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valence of a fimilar custom among the Lacede- CHAP. monians. "At Sparta," fays the Historian, " boys are whipped for a whole day, often-" times to death, before the altar of Diana, " and there is a wonderful emulation among " them who best can fustain the greatest num-" ber of stripes." Nor did the Charaibe youth, yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the severities he sustained extorted the least fymptom of weakness from the young sufferer, he was difgraced for ever; -but if he role fuperior to pain, and baffled the rage of his perfecutors, by perfeverance and ferenity, he received the highest applause. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, that he was now a man like one of themselves.

A penance still more fevere, and torments more excruciating; stripes, burning and suffocation, constituted a test for him who aspired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war\*; for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no supremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magistrates. To their old men indeed they allowed fome kind of authority, but it was at best ill-defined, and must at all times have been insufncient to protect the weak against the strong. -In war, however, experience had taught them that fubordination as was requifite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general affemblies with great folemnity †; but, as hath been observed, they put their pre-

tenfions

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1262. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et seq. † Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

BOOK tensions to the proof with circumstances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is disgusting, and may well be suppressed.

If it appears strange that where so little was to be gained by preheminence, so much should be so willingly endured to obtain it, it must be considered that, in the estimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtless more than adequate to the cost of the purchase. If success attended his measures, the feast and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a second time; assuming in suture that of the most formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand \*. He was permitted to appropriate to himself, as many of the captives as he thought sit, and his countrymen presented to his choice the most beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour †.

It was probably this last mentioned testimony of public esteem and gratitude that gave rise in these Islands to the institution of polygamy, which, as hath been already observed, prevailed universally among them, and still prevails among the Charaibes of South America;—an institution the more excuseable, as their women from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourse after pregnancy. I am forry to add, that the condition of these poor creatures was at the same time truly wretched. Though frequently bestowed as the prize of successful courage, the wife thus honourably obtained, was soon consider-

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.

t Bancroft, p. 254.

Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 374.

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ed of as little value as the captive. Deficient CHAP. in those qualities which alone were estimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as flaves than companions. They fuftained every fpecies of drudgery: They ground the maize, prepared the callavi, gathered in the cotton and wove the hamack \*; nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands t: Under all these cruel circumstances it is not wonderful that they were far less prolific than the women of Europe !. But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from favage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female fex ||. d or beginned

Perhaps a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have foftened many of the shades which thus darken the character of these islanders, and have discovered some

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1272. Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

<sup>†</sup> Labat, tom. ii. p. 15 and 95. † Lafitau, tom. i. p. 590.

Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oronoko, relates (tom. i. p. 207. Fr. translation) that the Charaibes of the Continent punish their women caught in adultery, like the ancient Israelites, by "stoning them to death before an affembly of the people;" but as I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer, and because it is evidently brought forward to support the author's hypothesis that the Americans are originally descended from the Jews, I suspect that it is not well sounded:—at least there is no trace that such a custom existed among the insular Charaibes. Rechesor speaking of the latter, observes, that before they had any intercourse with the Christians they had no established punishment for adulte-

BOOK some latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to leffen, though not wholly to remove the disgust we naturally feel in beholding human nature fo debased and degraded; but of many particulars wherein curiofity would defire to be gratified, we have not fuffcient materials to enable us to form a full and correct idea. We know but little for inflance concerning their domestic economy, their arts, manufactures and agriculture; their fense of filial and paternal obligations, or their religious rites and funeral ceremonies. Such further information however, in these and other respects, as authorities the least disputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached obwhile proof that a people is cherenoitavial

> Besides the ornaments which we have noticed to have been worn by both fexes, the women on arriving at the age of puberty, were diftinguished also by a fort of buskin or half boot, made of cotton, which furrounded the fmall of each leg \*. A diffinction, however, which fuch of their females as had been taken

ry, because (says he) "the crime itself was unknown."-He adds, that, when this, with other European vices, was introduced among them, the injured husband became his own avenger Labat's reasoning on this head is too curous to be omitted; "Il n'y a que les femmes qui foient obligées a l'obeissance, et dont les hommes soient absolu-ment les maires. Ils portent cette superiorité jusqu'à "l'exces, et les tuent pour des sujets très legers. Un soup-con d'infidelité, bien ou mal sonde, suffit, sans autre formalité, pour les mettre en droit de leur casser la tête. " Cela est un peu sauvage à la verite; mais ce'st un frein bien " propre pour retenir les femmes dans leux devoir." Tom. iv.

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p. 327. \* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p.

1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12.

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in the chance of war, dared not aspire to. CHAP. In other respects both male and semale appeared as naked as our first parents before the fall t. Like them, as they knew no guilt, they knew no shame; nor was clothing thought necessary to personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter was never felt.

Their hair was uniformly of a shining black, firait and coarse; but they dressed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with feathers of various colours. As their hair thus conflituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the fincerity of their forrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it short I like their slaves and captives; to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigoroufly denied |. Like most other nations of the New Hemisphere, they eradicated, with great nicety, the incipient beard §, and all superfluous hairs on their bodies;—a circumstance which has given rife to a notion that all the Aborigines of America were naturally beardless. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many respectable writers, but after much enquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.

The circumstance the most remarkable concerning their persons, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the

<sup>\*</sup> Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 394.

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 441. Purchas, vol. iv. p.

<sup>1</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 439. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 412.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 405.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 392.

flexible skull was confined between two small pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each side, elevated the forehead, and occasioned it, and the back part of the skull, to resemble two sides of a square \*; an uncouth and frightful custom, still observed, if I am rightly informed, by the miserable remnant of Charaibes in the Island of St. Vincent †.

They refided in villages which refembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top 1. They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of fuperior magnitude to the reft. It was formed with great labour, and ferved as a public hall or state house |, wherein we are assured that the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; "observing that law" (saith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these Islands in 1506) "which in Lycurgus's mouth " was thought strange and needless \$." These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation and trained to

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\* Oviedo, lib. iii. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix.

† P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

| Ibid. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xvi. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 8.

I'm Tewner town, 15 to 457.

Lu Levis, ton.

§ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.

<sup>†</sup> I have been told by anatomists that the coronal suture of new-born children in the West Indies is commonly more open than that of infants born in colder climates, and the brain more liable to external injury. Perhaps therefore the Indian custom of depressing the os frontis and the occiput, was originally meant to assist the operation of nature in closing the skull.

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martial enterprise by the renown of their war- CHAP. riors, and the harangues of their orators.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which one would have scarcely expected to have found amongst a people so little removed from a state of mere animal nature, as to reject all dress as superfluous. Columbus observed an abundance of substantial cotton cloth in all the islands which he visited, and the natives possessed the art of staining it with various colours, though the Charaibes delighted chiefly in red \*. Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, such as are now used at sea;—for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preserved also the original name †.

They possessed likewise the art of making vessels of clay for domestic uses, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Europe. The ruins of many of these kilns were visible not long since in Barbadoes, where specimens of the manufacture are still frequently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the historian of that island, observes, that they far surpass the earthen ware made by the negroes, in thinness, smoothness and beauty 1. Besides those, they invented various other utensils for economical purposes, which are enumerated by Labat. The baskets which

Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

† All the early Spanish and French writers expressly affert, that the original Indian name for their swinging beds was amack or hammack;—but Dr. Johnson derives the English word hammack from the Saxon.

t Nat. Hift. of Barbadoes, p. 8. Ligon, who wifited this island in 1647, declares that some of these vessels, which he saw, even surpassed any earthen-ware made in England "both" (to use his own words) "in sinesse of mettle, and curiosity of turninge."

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BOOK which they composed of the fibres of the I. palmeto leaves, were fingularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, other weapons, displayed a neatness and polish, which the most skilful European artist would have found it difficult to have excelled,

even with European tools.

Of the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are flender and unfatisfactory. We are told on good authority, that among the Charaibes of the Continent, there was no division of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies \*. Where no criminal jurisdiction is established, the idea of private property must necessarily be unknown or imperfect; and in these islands where land is fearce, it feems probable that, as among fome of the tribes of South America t, cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each fe parate community, and their harvests deposited in public granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public flock.-Rochefort indeed observes that all their interests were in common.

Their food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumstance of their eating human slesh, seems to have been the same, in most respects, as that of the natives of the larger islands, which shall be described hereaster. But although their appetites were voracious, they rejected many of the best bounties of nature. Of some animals they held the slesh in abhorrence; these were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or sea cow, and the turtle stabes.

| Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

<sup>\*</sup> Bancroft, p. 254. † Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265. † Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 12, 70, 237. Lasitau, tom. i. 515.

Labat observes that they scrupled likewise to CHAP. eat the eel, which the rivers, in feveral of the

islands, supply in great plenty \*.

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The striking conformity of these, and some other of their prejudices and customs, to the practices of the Jews, has not escaped the notice of historians t .- But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abstaining from those things which many nations account very wholesome and delicious food, we are no where fufficiently informed.

It most probably was, however, the influence of superstition that gave rise to these and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common fense;—one of which at first appears extraordinary and incredible, but it is too strongly attested by historians to be denied. On the birth of his first son the father retired to his bed, and fasted with a strictness that often endangered life 1. Lafitau, observing that the same ceremony was practifed by the Tybarenians of Asia, and the lberians or ancient inhabitants of Spain, and is still in use among the people of Japan, not only urges this circumstance as a proof among others that the new world was peopled from the old, but pretends to discover in it also some traces of the doctrine of original sin; he supposes that the severe penance thus voluntarily fubmitted to by the father, was at first instituted in the pious view of protecting his iffue

\* Labat, tom. iv. p. 304.
† Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. 371, 373. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 550. Labat, tom. iv. p. 368. Lafitau, tom. i. P. 49. Nieuhoff relates that this practice prevails likewife among the natives of Brafil. Churchill's Voyages, vol. 11. P. 133.

BOOK I.

issue from the contagion of hereditary guilt, averting the wrath of offended omnipotence at the crime of our first parents, and expia-

ting their guilt by his fufferings \*.

The ancient Thracians, as we are informed by Herodotus, when a male child was brought into the world, lamented over him in fad vaticination of his deftiny, and they rejoiced when he was released by death from those miseries which they confidered as his inevitable portion in life: but, whatever might have been the motives that first induced the Charaibes to do penance on fuch occasions, it would feem that grief and dejection had no great share in it; for the ceremony of fasting was immediately fucceeded by rejoicing and triumph, by drunkenness and debauchery. Their lamentations for the dead feem to have arisen from the more laudable dictates of genuine nature; for, unlike the Thracians on these solemnities, they not only despoiled their hair, as we have before related, but when the mafter of the family died, the furviving relations, after burying the corpse in the centre of his own dwelling with many demonstrations of unaffected grief, quitted the house altogether, and erected another in a distant situation +.

Unfortunately, however, if now and then we distinguish among them some faint traces of rational piety, our satisfaction is of short

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Lafitau, tom. iv. p. 257.

† Labat, tom. iv. p. 367. They placed the dead body in the grave in a fitting posture with the knees to the chin. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 402.

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or it is a light, that glimmers for a moment, and then fets in blood.

It is afferted, and I believe with truth, that the expectation of a future state has prevailed amongst all mankind in all ages and countries of the world. to It is certain that it prevailed among the Charaibes\*; who not only believed that death was not the final extinction of their being, but pleased themselves also with the fond conceit that their departed relations were fecret spectators of their conduct;—that they ftill fympathized in their fufferings, and participated in their welfare. To these notions, so flattering to our wishes,-perhaps congenial to our nature, they added others of a dreadful tendency; for, confidering the foul as susceptible of the fame impressions, and obnoxious to the fame passions, as when allied to the body, it was thought a religious duty to their deceased heroes to sacrifice at their funerals ome of the captives which had been taken in battle t. Immortality feemed a curse without military glory: they allotted to the virtuous and the brave the enjoyment of supreme felicity, with their wives and their captives, in a fort of Mahometan paradife. To the degenerate and the cowardly they assigned a far different portion: these they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains;—to unremitting labour in employ-

<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 14. 485. Du Tertre, tom. ii.

<sup>†</sup> Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274.

BOOK ments that disgrace manhood;—and this disgrace they supposed would be heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and ser-

vitude among the Arrowauks \*.

One would imagine that the idea of a state of retribution after death, necessarily flowed from a well-founded belief in the existence of an allwife and almighty Governor and Judge of the Universe; but we are told, notwithstanding, that the minds of the Charaibes were not elevated to this height. "They admitted," fays Rochefort, "that the earth was their bountiful " parent, which yielded them all the good " things of life, but they were fo lamentably " funk in darkness and brutality as to have " formed no conception of its beneficent " Creator, through the continual energy of " whose divine influence alone it yields any " thing. They had not even a name for the " deity t." Other writers, however, of equal authority I, and even the fame writer elfewhere ||, present us with a different representation in this respect, and allow that the Charaibes entertained an awful fense (perplexed indeed and indistinct) of one great universal cause,—of a superior, wise, and invisible Being, of absolute and irrefistable powers. Like the ancient heathens, they admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities. They even supposed that each individual person had

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<sup>\*</sup> Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485. † Rochefort, c. xiii p. 469. † Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 364.

Rochefort, c. xiv.
§ The Galibis Indians, or Charaibes of South America, from whom I have supposed the Insular Charaibes to have been immediately descended, named the Supreme Being Tamoussi, or Universal Father.—Barrere.

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his peculiar protector or tutelary Deity \*. Nor CHAP. is it true as affirmed by fome authors, that they had no notion of practical worship; for, befides the funeral ceremonies above-mentioned, which arose furely from a sense of mistaken piety, they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating, intended as fymbols probably of their invisible Deities, to whom they offered facrifices, fimilar to those of the ancient Romans in their days of fimplicity and virtue t. It was their custom to erect in every cottage a rustic altar, composed of banana leaves and rushes, whereon they occafionally placed the earliest of their fruits, and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace offerings through the mediation of their inferior deities to incenfed omnipotence 1; for it is admitted that their devotions confifted lefs in the effusions of thankfulness, than in deprecations of wrath; -but herein neither were they distinguishable from the rest of mankind, either in the old world or the new. We can all forget benefits though we implore mercy. Vol. I. Mis and E E Strange

\* Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471. † Mr. Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, makes mention of many fragments of Indian idols dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen veffels above mentioned.—" I faw the head of one" (continues he) " which alone weighed above fixty pounds. "This before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedef-" tal about three feet in height. The heads of all the " others were very small. These lesser idols were in all probability their Penates, made small for the ease and conveniency of being carried with them in their feveral "journeys, as the larger fort were perhaps defigned for fome stated places of worship."—

Natural History of Barbadoes, p. 7. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 179. Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 472. Da Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366.

BOOK Strange however it is, that the same authors

who accuse them of atheism, should accuse
them likewise, in the same moment, of poly-

theifm and idolatry.

Atheists they certainly were not; and though they did not maintain the doctrine of pure Theifm, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think, been fufficiently noticed. If their devotion, as we have feen, was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of fear ;-if they were less sensible of the goodness, than terrified at the judgments of the Almighty; it should also be remembered, that in these climates the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that fweeps nations to the deep, and the earthquake that swallows continents in his bosom.-Let us not then hastily affix the charge of impiety on these simple people, if, when they beheld the elements combine for their destruction, they confidered the Divine Being as infinite indeed in power, but severe in his justice, and inexorable in his anger. Under this impression, it is not wonderful that the mind, humbled to the duft in the confciousness of its own imbecility, and scarce daring to lift up a thought to the great cause of all things should fondly wish for some mild and gracious interpreter; some amiable intermediate agent in whom to repose with confidence, as in a guardian and a friend. This defire encreasing is at length exalted to belief. The foul, feeting refuge from its own apprehensions, creates imaginary beings, by whose mediation it hopes to render itself less despicable in the fight of the Supreme. To thefe its devotions are entrufted,

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entrusted, and its adorations paid: and while CHAP. we lament the blindness of these poor savages, and exult in our own superiority in this respect, let us not forget that in the most cultivated periods of the human understanding (before the light of revelation was graciously displayed) a similar superstition was practised by all the various nations of the heathen world; of which, not one perhaps had so strong an apology to plead as the Charaibes.

Theie observations, however, extend only to the fair fide of their religion, the worship of benevolent deities. A darker superstition likewife prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of these climates; for they not only believed in the existence of demons and evil spirits, but they offered to them by the hands of their Boyez, or pretended magicians, facrifices and worthin; wounding themselves on fuch folemnities with an inftrument made of the teeth of the agouti; which inflicted horrible gathes, conceiving, perhaps, that the malignant powers delighted in groans and milery, and were to be appealed only by human blood \*. I am of opinion, nevertheless, that even this latter species of idolatry originated in reverential piety, and an awful lense of almighty power and infinite perfection. That we receive both good and evil at the hands of God, and that the Supreme Being is equally wife and benevolent in the dispensation of both, are truths which we are taught, as well by cultivated reason, as by holy writ; but they are truths, to the right apprehension of which uncivilized man was perhaps at all times unequal.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

BOOK unequal. The favage, indeed, amidft the destructive terrors of the hurricane and the earth. quake, might eafily conclude that nothing less than Omnipotence itself, "vifiting the nations in his wrath," could thus harrow up the world; but the leffer calamities of daily occurrence,the various appearances of phyfical and moral evil which hourlyembitter life, he dared not afcribe to an all perfect and merciful Being. To his limited conception such a conclusion was derogatory from divine justice, and irreconcileable with infinite wisdom. To what then would be impute these terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure spirits and aereal demons? The profanations built on fuch notions certainly throw a lustre on the Christian religion, if they serve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin.

A minute detail of the rites and ceremonies which these and other religious tenets gave birth to among the Charaibes, most of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illustration of their conformity to the superstitions of the Pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is such a disquisition necessary. It is sufficient for me to have shewn that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a Deity and the expectation of a future state, (to borrow the expression of an eloquent prelate) are no less conformable to the first natural apprehensions of the untutored mind, than to the soundest principles of philosophy.

I have thus felected and combined, from a mass of discordant materials, a few striking particulars in the character, manners and cus-

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<sup>\*</sup> Bishop of Chester's Sermons.

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toms of the ancient inhabitants of the Charai- CHAP. The picture is not pleafing; bean Islands. but, as I have elsewhere observed, it may lead to fome important conclusions; for, besides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are affoat in the world respecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonstrate the absurdity of that hypothesis of some eminent philosophers, which pronounces favage life the genuine fource of unpolluted happines;—falsely deeming it a state conformable to our nature, and constituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no easy task, as Rouffeau observes, to discriminate properly between what is originally natural, and what is acquired, in the present constitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded from the account I have given of the Charaibes, that they derived their furious and fanguinary disposition -not from the dictates of nature-but from the perversion and abuse of some of her noblest endowments. Civilization and science would not only have given them gentler manners, but probably have eradicated also many of their barbarous rites and gloomy superstitions, either by the introduction of a purer religion, or by giving energy and effect to those latent important principles which I have shewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the necefity and benevolent efficacy of improved manners and focial intercourse; conceiving that man by the cultivation of his reason, and the exercise of his faculties alone answers the end of his creation; I am far from concurring with another class of philosophers, who widely differing from the former, confider a state of pure nature as a state of unrelenting ferocity and reciprocal hostility;

BOOK hostility; maintaining that all the foft and tender affections are not originally implanted in us, but are superinduced by education and reflection. A retrospect to what has been related of the Charaibes will shew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where constituted a mild and a merciful being. It was by rigid discipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to fuffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity, the utmost exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by those enormities of favage life, as they are suppressed by the cold unfeeling apathy of philosophical refinement. Still however, to the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compaffion and kindness are among the earliest propensities of our nature, as that they constitute the chief ornament and the happiness of it. Of this truth our next refearches will furnish a pleasing example.

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HER DESIGNATIONS LEGISLATING COMPANY ON THE

Of the natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.—Their Origin.—Numbers. -Persons .- Genius and Dispositions .- Government and Religion .- Miscellaneous Observations respecting their Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture, Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.

I AM now to give some account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico; for there is no doubt that the inhabitants of all those Islands were of one common origin,-fpeaking the fame language,—possessing the same institutions, and practifing fimilar fuperstitions. Columbus himself treats of them as such; and the testimony of many cotemporary historians confirm his opinion. It appears likewise from the information of Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiapa, to the Emperor Charles V. that most of the natives of Trinidad were of the fame nation; the extent and natural strength of that illand, as of the others above-mentioned, having protected them, in a great measure, from the depredations of the Charaibes.

I have elsewhere related that they were confidered by these Barbarians as descended from a Colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and there can be no good reason to suppose

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BOOK that the Charaibes were misinformed in this particular. The evidence of Raleigh, and others who vifited both Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago, might be adduced in support of their opinion. These voyagers pronounce the ancient inhabitants of Trinidad to belong precifely to the Arwacks or Arrowauk nation of the Continent; a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations. And here, all enquiry concerning the origin of our islanders feems to terminate. It is indeed extremely probable that all the various nations of this part of the new world, except only the Charaibes, emigrated anciently from the great hive of the Mexican empire. Juan de Grijalva, one of the adventurers from Cuba in 1518, found a people who spoke the language of that island, on the coast of Jucatan\*; but at what period fuch emigrations were made; whether the Charaibes were previously possessed of the widely extended coast that bounds the Atlantic, or, in posterior ages, accidentally found their way thither by fea, from the ancient Continent-(perhaps by their invasion giving birth to that hereditary and unconquerable hatred which still prevails between them and the other Indian nations)these are points concerning which, as it is impossible to determine, it is in vain to enquire.

In estimating the number of our islanders, when first discovered by Columbus, historians widely differ. Las Casas computes them at

<sup>\*</sup> P. Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. x.

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fix millions in the whole; but the natives of CHAP. Hispaniola were reckoned by Oviedo at one million only, and by Martyr, who wrote on the authority of Columbus, at 1,200,000, and this last account is probably the most correct. ludging of the other islands by that, and supposing the population of each to be nearly the fame in proportion to its extent, the whole number will fall greatly short of the computation of Las Casas. Perhaps if we fix on three millions, instead of fix, as the total, we shall approach as near the truth as possible, on a question that admits not of minute accuracy. Indeed fuch are the accounts of the horrible carnage of these poor people by the Spaniards, that we are naturally led to hope that their original numbers must have been greatly exaggerated; first by the associates of Columbus, from a fond and excufable propenfity to magnify the merit and importance of their difcoveries, as undoubtedly they were afterwards by the worthy prelate I have quoted, in the warmth of his honest indignation at the bloody proceedings of his countrymen: with whom indeed, every man of a humane and reflecting mind, must blush to confess himself of the fame nature and species!

But, not to anticipate observations that will more properly appear hereaster, I shall now proceed to the consideration,—I. Of their persons and personal endowments: II. Their intellectual faculties and dispositions: III. Their political institutions: IV. Their religious rites. Such subordinate particulars as are not easily reducible to either of those heads, will conclude the present chapter.

I. Both

I. Both men and women wore nothing more BOOK than a flight covering of cotton cloth round the waift; but in the women it extended to the knees: the children of both fexes appear. ed entirely naked. In flature they were taller but less robust than the Charaibes \*, and they were univerfally graceful and well proportion. Their colour was a clear brown; not deeper, in general, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanish peasant who has been much exposed to the wind and the fun t. Like the Charaibes they altered the natural configuration of the head in infancy; but after a different mode ; and by this practice, fays Herrara, the crown was fo strengthened that a Spanish broad-sword, instead of cleaving the skull at a stroke, would frequently break short upon it |; an illustration which gives an admirable idea of the clemency of their conquerors! Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unfightly; the face broad, and the note flat; but their eyes streamed with good nature, and altogether there was fomething pleafing and inviting in the countenances of most of them, which proclaimed a frank and gentle disposition. It was an honest face, coarse, but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence, and foftened by compaffion.

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Much has been suggested by modern philosophers concerning a supposed seebleness in their

\* Oviedo, Som. + F. Col. c. xxiii.

| Herrara, lib, i. c. xvi. who copies this circumstance

from Oviedo.

<sup>†</sup> The finciput, or fore-part of the head from the eyebrows to the coronal future, was depressed, which gave an unnatural thickness and elevation to the occiput, or hinder part of the skull.

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their persons and constitutions. They are re- CHAP. presented to have been incapable of the smallest degree of labour, incurably indolent, and infensible even to the attractions of beauty. and the influence of love \*. This wonderful debility and coldness have been attributed by fome writers to a vegetable diet: by others, it. is pretended that they derived from nature less appetite for food than the natives of Europe; but nothing can more strongly demonstrate the indolent inattention of historians, than their combining these circumstances in one and the fame character. An infensibility, or contempmous difregard, towards the female fex, was a feature peculiar to the Charaibes; who however, as we have feen, were robust and vigorous in their persons, and infatiably voracious of food. It constituted no part of the difposition of our islanders; amongst whom an attachment to the fex was remarkably confpi-Love, with this happy people, was not a transient and youthful ardour only; but the fource of all their pleafures, and the chief bufiness of life: for not being, like the Chataibes, oppressed by the weight of perpetual folicitude, and tormented by an unquenchable thirst of revenge, they gave full indulgence to the instincts of nature, while the influence of the climate heightened the sensibility of the passions to

In truth, an excessive sensuality was among the greatest desects in their character: and to

Robertson, Buffon, De Pauw, and others.

<sup>†</sup> See Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. We have hearly the same account at this day of the Arrowauks of Guiana. "In their natural disposition" (says Bancrost) "they are amorous and wanton; and Barrere observes, " its font subriques an supreme dégré."

I. the origin of that dreadful disease with the infliction of which they have almost revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe:—if indeed the venereal contagion was first introduced into Spain from these islands; a conclusion to which notwithstanding all that has been written in support of it, an attentive enquirer will still hesitate to subscribe \*.

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" The venereal disease" (says Oviedo) " was certain-" ly introduced into Europe from these islands, where the " best medicine for the cure of it, the Guaiacum, is also " found; the Almighty so remembering mercy in judg-" ment that, when our fins provoke punishment, he fends " likewife a remedy.—I was acquainted with many persons " who accompanied Columbus in his first and second voy-" ages, and suffered of this disease; one of whom was " Pedro Margarite, a man much respected of the King and " Queen. In the year 1496 it began to spread in Europe, " and the phyficians were wholly at a loss in what man-" ner to treat it .- When, after this, Gonzales Fernandes " de Cordova was fent with an army by his Catholic Ma-" jefty on behalf of Ferdinand the Second King of Naples, some infected persons accompanied that army, and " by intercourse with the women, spread the disease among " the Italians and the French; both which nations had " fucceffively the honor of giving it a name; but in truth " it came originally from Hispaniola, where it was very common, as was likewise the remedy."

This account is sufficiently particular; nevertheless there is reason to believe that the venereal infection was known in Europe many centuries before the discovery of America; although it is possible it might have broke out with renewed violence about the time of Columbus's return from his first expedition.—This was the era of wonder, and probably the infrequency of the contagion before that period, gave colour to a report, perhaps at first maliciously propagated by some who envied the success of Columbus, that this disease was one of the fruits of his celebrated enterprize. It is impossible, in the space of a marginal note, to enter deeply into this subject; neither does the full in-

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That a people who possessed the means of CHAP. gratifying every inclination without labour, should sometimes incline to be indolent, is a circumstance not very extraordinary. As the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneoufly, and no covering was absolutely requifite but the shade, that necessity which urges men to action, and, by exercise, invigorates the fibres, was here wholly unknown. probable therefore that in mulcular strength the natives were inferior to their invaders, and being less accustomed to labour, they might also require less nourishment. These conclusions may be admitted without fuppoling any degradation of their nature, and with no very unfavourable impression of the climate. Their limbs however were pliant and active, and in their motions they displayed both gracefulness and eafe. Their agility was eminently confpicuons in their dances; wherein they delighted and excelled; devoting the cool hours of night to this employment +. It was their custom, lays Herrara, to dance from evening to the dawn;

vestigation of it come within the design of my work. I therefore refer such of my readers as are desirous of forminga decided opinion on the question, to the Philos. Transactions, vol. xxvii. and vol. xxxi. (No. 365 and No. 11) also to two learned treatises on the subject by Mr. Sanches, published at Paris 1772 and 1774, and to the authorities referred to by Mr. Forster in his "Observations made "during a Voyage round the World," p. 492. The Stow's Survey of London, vol. ii. p. 7. is preserved a copy of the rules or regulations established by Parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Second, for the government of the licensed stews in Southwark, among which I find the following, "No stewholder to keep any woman that hath the "perilous infirmity of burning." This was 330 years before the voyage of Columbus.

† P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii.

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BOOK dawn; and although fifty thousand men and women were frequently assembled together on these occasions, they seemed actuated by one common impulse, keeping time by responsive motions of their hands, seet, and bodies, with an exactuels that was wonderful \*. These public dances (for they had others, highly licentious) were appropriated to particular solemnities, and being accompanied with historical songs, were called Arietoes; a singular feature in their political institutions, of which I shall

prefently speak.

Befides the exercise of dancing, another diversion was prevalent among them which they called Bato; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spanish historians t, that it had a distant resemblance to the English game of cricket; for the players were divided into two parties, which alternatively changed places, and the sport consisted in dexterouly throwing and returning from one party to the other, an elastic ball; which however was not caught in the hand, or returned with an instrument; but received on the head, the elbow, or the foot, and the dexterity and force with which it was thence repelled, was aftonishing and inimitable.—Such exertions belong not w a people incurably enervated and flothful.

II. They are, nevertheless, pronounced by many writers, to have been naturally inferior to the natives of Europe, not only in bodily strength, but likewise in genius and natural endowments. This affertion has I think been advanced with more considence than proof.

Herrara, lib. ix. c. ii.

<sup>†</sup> Oviedo, lib. vi. c. ii. Herrara, lib. iii. c. iv.

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That the mind, like the body, acquires strength CHAP. by employment, is indeed a truth which we all acknowledge, because we all experience it; and it requires no great fagacity to discover, that ingenuity is feldom very powerfully exerted to gratify appetites which do not exist, or to guard against inconveniences which are not felt. If our islanders therefore rose in fome respects to a degree of refinement not often observable in savage life, it may justly be prefumed that in a state of society productive of new defires and artificial necessities, their capacities would have been susceptible of still further improvement. Their fituation alone, without recurring to the various other causes affigned by philosophers, sufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Men, without anxiety for the future, have little reflection on What they wanted in excited enerthe pait. gy of mind, was however abundantly supplied by the fofter affections; by sweetness of temper, and native goodness of disposition. writers who have treated of their character, agree that they were unquestionably the most gentle and benevolent of the human race. Though not bleffed with the light of revelation, they practifed one of the noblest precepts of Christianity, forgiveness of their enemies: laying all that they possessed at the feet of their oppressors; courting their notice, and preventing their wishes, with such fondnels and affiduity, as one would have thought might have difarmed habitual cruelty, and melted bigotry into tendernels\*.

Among

<sup>\*</sup> Martyr. Herrara. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

Among other instances of their generous BOOK and compassionate turn of mind, the following is not the least remarkable. Soon after Columbus's first arrival at Hispaniola, one of his ships was wrecked on the coast. The na. tives, scorning to derive advantage to them. felves from the diffress of the ftrangers (unconscious indeed of the calamities which their arrival was foon to bring upon them) beheld the accident with the liveliest emotions of forrow, and haftened to their relief. A thousand canoes were instantly in motion, builly employed in conveying the feamen and cargo ashore; by which timely assistance, not a life was loft; and of the goods and provisions that were faved from the wreck, not the fmallest article was embezzled. . Such was their celerity and good will on this occasion, fays Martyr, that no friend for friend, or brother for brother, in diffress, could have manifested stronger proofs of sympathy and Other historians still heighten the picture; for they relate that Guacanahari, the fovereign of that part of the country, per-ceiving that, notwithstanding the efforts of his people, the ship itself, and great part of the cargo were irrecoverably funk, waited on Columbus to condole with him on the occafion; and while this poor Indian lamented his misfortune in terms which excited furprize and admiration, he offered the Admiral (the tears flowing copiously down his cheeks as he fpoke) all that he himself possessed, in reparation of his lofs. † This

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Martyr, Decad. i. lib. i. † Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrara, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

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This benevolence, unexampled in the history of CHAP. civilized nations, was foon basely requited by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus, with no ill intention, left in the island, on his departure for Europe. Guacanahari however was covered with wounds in defending them from his injured countrymen \*; to whose just resentment the Spanish rushans at length fell a facrifice; but their anger was of short duration. On Columbus's return, in his fecond voyage, heir fondness revived; and for a confiderable ime the Spaniards lived among them in perfect ecurity, exploring the interior parts of the counry, both in companies and individually, not only without molestation, but invited thereto by he natives. When any of the Spaniards came hear to a village, the most ancient and venerable of the Indians, or the Cacique himself, if preent, came out to meet them, and gently conbucking them into their habitations, feated them on stools of ebony curiously ornamented. These benches feem to have been feats of honor reerved for their guests; -for the Indians threw hemselves on the ground, and kissing the hands and feet of the Spaniards, offered them fruits and the choicest of their viands; entreating hem to prolong their stay, with fuch folicitude and reverence as demonstrated that they considered them as beings of a superior nature, whose presence consecrated their dwellings, and brought bleffing with it +.

The reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, in the absence of the Admiral, afterwards met with, in his progress through the Vol. I.

<sup>\*</sup> Herrara, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl. † Herrara, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.

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BOOK island to levy tributes from the several Caciques or Princes, manifested not only kindness and fubmission, but on many occasions munificence. and even a high degree of politeness. Their Caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerness of the strangers for gold; and such of them as possessed any of this precious metal, willingly presented all that they had to the Deputy Go vernor. Others, who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought provisions and cotton in great abundance. \*-Among the latter, was Behechio, a powerful Cacique, who invited the Lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions: and the entertainment which they received from this hospitable chief is thus described by Marty. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty, carrying branches of the palm-tree in their hands; who first faluted the Spaniards with a folemn dance, accompanied with a general fong These matrons were succeeded by a train of virgins, diffinguished as fuch by their appear ance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied fimply with a fillet over their foreheads, or ful fered to flow gracefully on their shoulders and Their limbs were finely proportioned and their complexions, though brown, were fmooth, shining and lovely. The Spaniards were struck with admiration, believing that they be held the dryads of the woods, and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeifance to the Lieu tenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful,

<sup>\*</sup> P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

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tiful, and, according to the Indian mode of living, a splendid repast already provided. As night approached, the Spaniards were conducted to separate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they were again entertained with dancing and singing. This was followed by matches of wrestling and running for prizes; after which two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement ensued; exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibes. For three days were the Spaniards thus royally entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

III. The submissive and respectful deportment of these placid people towards their superiors, and those they considered as such, was derived probably, in fome degree, from the nature of their government; which, contrary to that of the Charaibes under a fimilar climate, was monarchical and even absolute. The regal authority however, though not circumscribed by positive inftitutions, was tempered into great mildness by that constitutional benevolence which predominated throughout every part of their conduct, from the highest to the lowest. The sympathy which they manifested towards the diffress of others, proves that they were not wretched themselves; for in a state of absolute llavery and mifery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity.

Their Kings, as we have feen, were Caciques, and their power was hereditary:—But there were also subordinate Chiestains, or Princes, who were tributaries to the Sovereign of each district. Thus the territory in Hispaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain

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BOOK of Leogane to the Westermost part of the island. was the kingdom of the Cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no less than thirty-two inferior chieftains or nobles had jurisdiction within that space of country, who were all accountable to the supreme authority of Behechio . They feem to have fomewhat refembled the ancient barons or feudatories of Europe; holding their possessions by the tenure of service. Oviedo relates that they were under the obligation of personally attending the Sovereign, both in peace and war, whenever commanded fo to dot. It is to be lamented that the Spanish historians afford very little information concerning this or der of nobles, or the nature and extent of their fubordinate jurisdiction algor binate stall be

The whole island of Hispaniola was divided into five great kingdoms to of two of which, when Columbus first landed, Guacanahari and Behechio were absolute sovereigns .-- A third principal Cacique was Cuanaboa, whose history is remarkable: He had been originally a War Captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and, on condition of preventing the further incursions of his countrymen, had received his fifter, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a separate kingdom. The establishment of this leader and his followers in Hispaniola, had introduced into this part of the island the Charaibean language, and also the use of the bow and arrow; | 2 weapon with the practice of which the natives of the larger islands were generally unacquaint-

<sup>\*</sup> P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

<sup>†</sup> Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv. | Oviedo, lib. iii.

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ed. Cuanaboa however still retained his ferocious disposition, and having been accused by Guacanahari before Christopher Columbus, of murdering some of the Spaniards, was ordered by that commander to be sent to Spain; but the ship perished at sea. The sad fate of his unfortunate widow, the innocent Anacoana, who was most atrociously murdered in 1505, by Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, for no cause, that I can discover, but her fond attachment to Bartholomew Columbus, having been related at large in the late American history, need not be repeated here.

The islands of Cuba and Jamaica were divided, like Hispaniola, into many principalities or kingdoms; but we are told that the whole extent of Porto Rico was subject to one Cacique only \*. It has been remarked, that the dignity of these Chieftains was hereditary; but, if Martyr is to be credited, the law of fuccession among them, was different from that of all other people; for he observes t, that the Caciques bequeathed the supreme authority to the children of their fifters, according to feniority, difinheriting their own offspring; "being cer-" tain, adds Martyr, that, by this policy, " they preferred the blood royal; which might " not happen to be the case, in advancing any " of the children of their numerous wives." The relation of Oviedo is somewhat different, and feems more probable: he remarks that one of . the wives of each Cacique was particularly diftinguished above the rest, and appears to have been confidered by the people at large as the reigning Queen 1; that the children of this lady, according

<sup>\*</sup> P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii. † Decad. iii, c. ix.

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. O. V. , W. ali ali an endl

BOOK according to priority of birth, fucceeded to the father's honors; but, in default of iffue by the favourite Princess, the fifters of the Cacique, if there were no furviving brothers, took place of the Cacique's own children by his other wives. Thus Anacoana, on the death of Behechio her brother, became Queen of Xaraguay.\* It is obvious that this regulation was intended to pre-

vent the mischiefs of a disputed succession, among children whose pretentions were equal.

The principal Cacique was distinguished by regal ornaments, and numerous attendants. In travelling through his dominions, he was commonly borne on men's shoulders, after a manner very much resembling the use of the palanqueen in the East Indies.† According to Martyr, he was regarded by all his subjects with such reverence, as even exceeded the bounds of nature and reason; for if he ordered any of them to cast themselves headlong from a high rock, or to drown themselves in the sea, alledging no cause but his sovereign pleasure, he was obeyed without a murmur: opposition to the supreme authority, being considered, not only as unavailing, but impious.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the Prince; it was extended to his memory after death; a proof that his authority, however extravagant, was feldom abused. When a Cacique died, his body was embowelled, and dried in an oven, moderately heated; so that the bones and even the skin were preserved entire. The corpse was then placed in a cave with those of his ancestors, this being (observes

Oviedo)

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<sup>\*</sup> Herrara, lib. vi. c. ii. † Herrara, lib. i. c. xvi. † Martyr, Decad. i. c. i.

Herrara, lib. iii. c. iii. F. Columbus, c. lxi.

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Oviedo) among these simple people the only CHAP. system of heraldry; whereby they intended to render, not the name alone, but the persons also, of their worthies immortal. If a Cacique was slain in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they composed songs in his praise, which they taught to their children; a better and nobler testimony surely, than heaps of drybones or even monuments of marble; since memorials to the deceased are, or ought to be, intended less in honor of the dead, than as incitements to the living.\*

These heroic effusions constituted a branch of those solemnities, which, as hath been observed, were called Arietoes; confisting of hymns and public dances, accompanied with musical instruments made of shells, and a fort of drum, the sound of which was heard at a vast distance.† These hymns, reciting the great actions of the departed Cacique; his same in war, and his gentleness in peace, formed a national history, which

<sup>\*</sup> It is related by Martyr, that on the death of a Cacique, the most beloved of his wives was immolated at his suneral. Thus he observes that Anacoana, on the death of her brother King Behechio, ordered a very beautiful woman, whose name was Guanahata Benechina, to be buried alive in the cave where his body (after being dried as above mentioned) was deposited.\* But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this custom was general among them.† Anacoana, who had been married to a Charaibe, probably adopted the practice from the account she had received from her husband of his national customs. And it is not impossible, under a female administration,—among savages,—but that the extraordinary beauty of the unfortunate victim, contributed to her destruction.

Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. ix. + Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

<sup>†</sup> Herrara, lib. iii. c. iv. P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii. F. Columbus.

t Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

BOOK. which was at once a tribute of gratitude to the deceased monarch, and a lesson to the living. Nor could any thing have been more instructive to the rifing generation than this institution, fince it comprehended also the antiquities of their country, and the traditions of their ancestors. Expressions of national triumph for victory in war, lamentations in times of public calamity, the voice of festivity, and the language of love, were likewise the subjects of these exhibitions; the dances, fo effential a part of them, being grave or gay as the occasion required. It is pretended that among the traditions thus publicly recited, there was one of a prophetic nature, denouncing ruin and defolation by the arrival of strangers compleatly clad, and armed with the lightning of heaven. The ceremonies which were observed when this awful prediction was repeated, we may well believe were ftrongly expressive of lamentation and horror\*.

.IV. Like all other unenlightened nations, these poor Indians were indeed the flaves of Their general theology (for they fuperstition. had an established system, and a priesthood to fupport it) was a medley of grofs folly and childish traditions, the progeny of ignorance and terror. Yet we are fometimes dazzled with a strong ray of funshine in the midst of furrounding darkness. Historians have preferved a remarkable speech of a venerable old man, a native of Cuba, who, approaching Christopher Columbus with great reverence, and prefenting a basket of fruit, addressed him as follows. "Whether you are divinities" (he observed) " or mortal men, we know not. You are come " into these countries with a force, against which,

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<sup>\*</sup> Martyr, ut fupra. Herrara, lib. ii, c. iv.

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were we inclined to refift it, refistance would CHAP.

be folly. We are all therefore at your mercy;
but if you are men, subject to mortality like
ourselves, you cannot be unapprized, that after this life there is another, wherein a very
different portion is allotted to good and bad
men. If therefore you expect to die, and believe, with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct
in the present, you will do no hurt to those,
who do none to you."\*

Their notions of future happiness seem however to have been narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, which they called Coyaba; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with guavas and other delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets; in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never selt. In this seat of bliss (the Elysium of antiquity) they believed that their greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed ancestors, and of those persons who were dear to them in life; —a proof at least of their silial piety, and of the warmth and tenderness of their affections and dispositions.

The consciousness in our Indians that they were accountable beings, seems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the New Hemisphere. Although, like the Charaibes, our islands acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like them too, they believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator:

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<sup>\*</sup> Herrara, lib. ii. c. xiv. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii.

<sup>†</sup> Fer. Col. c. lxi.

Herrara, lib. iij. c. iii.

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BOOK Creator; whom they named Jocahuna.\* But unhappily, with these important truths, these poor people blended the most puerile and extravagant fancies, which were neither founded in rational piety, nor productive of moral obligation. They assigned to the supreme Being, a father and mother, whom they diffinguished by a variety of names, and they supposed the sun and moon to be the chief feats of their refidencet. Their system of idol-worship was, at the same time, more lamentable than that of the Charaibes; for it would feem that they paid divine honors to stocks and stones converted into images. which they called Zemi; not regarding these idols as fymbolical representations only of their fubordinate divinities, and useful as sensible objects, to awaken the memory and animate devotion, but ascribing divinity to the material itself, and actually worshipping the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. It may be observed, however, that an equal degree of folly prevailed among people much more enlightened. The Egyptians themselves, the most ancient of civilized nations, worshipped vanous kinds of animals, and representations of animals; fome of them the most noxious in nature; and even the accomplished philosophers of Greece and Rome, paid divine honours to men to whom they had themselves given an apotheosis!—So nearly allied, in religious refearches, is the blindness of untutored nature, to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason!

It has indeed been afferted (whether justly or not) that "the superstitions of Paganism always "wore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue;" but the theology of our poor islanders bore

<sup>\*</sup> Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus. † F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni. † Gibbon.

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hore a different aspect. By a lamentable incon- CHAP. fiftency in the human mind, they confidered the Creator of all things as wholly regardless of the work of his hands; and as having transferred the government of the world to subordinate and malignant beings, who delighted in converting into evil that which HE pronounced to be good. The effusions of gratitude, the warmth of affection, the confidence of hope, formed no part. of their devotions. Their idols were univerfally hideous and frightful, sometimes representing toads and other odious reptiles; but more frequently the human face horribly distorted;a proof that they confidered them, not as benevolent, but evil, powers; -as objects of terror,-not of admiration and love.

To keep alive this facred and awful prejudice in the minds of the multitude, and heighten its influence, their Bohitos or Priests, appropriated a confecrated house in each village, wherein the Zemi was invoked and worshipped. Nor was it permitted to the people at large, at all times, to enter, and on unimportant occafions approach the dread object of their adora-The Bohitos undertook to be their meffengers and interpreters, and by the efficacy of their prayers to avert the dangers which they dreaded. The ceremonies exhibited on these folemnities, though grossly ridiculous, were well calculated however to extend the prieftly dominion, and confirm the popular subjection. In the same view, the Bohitos added to their holy profession, the practice of physic, and they claimed likewise the privilege of educating the children of the first rank of people; \*-a combination of influence which, extending to the

BOOK nearest and dearest concerns both of his life and the next, rendered their authority irresistible.

With fuch power in the priesthood, it may well be supposed, that the alliance between church and state, was not less intimate in these islands, than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations, religion was here made the instrument of civil despotism, and the will of the Cacique, if confirmed by the Priest, was impiously pronounced the decree of heaven. Columbus relates that some of his people entering unexpectedly into one of their houses of worship, found the Cacique employed in obtaining responses from the Zemi. By the found of the voice which came from the idol, they knew that it was hollow, and dashing it to the ground to expose the imposture, they discovered a tube, which was before covered with leaves, that communicated from the back part of the image to an inner apartment, whence the Priest issued his precepts as through a speaking trumpet;but the Cacique earnestly entreated them to say nothing of what they had feen; declaring that by means of fuch pious frauds, he collected tributes, and kept his kingdom in subjection.

The reader, I believe, will readily acquit me for declining to enter into any further detail of the various wild notions, and fantastical rites which were founded on such arts and impostures. Happily for our islanders, however, the general system of their superstition, though not amiable, was not cruel. We find among them but sew of those barbarous ceremonies which filled the Mexican temples with pollution, and the spectators with horror. They were even more fortunate in this respect than the otherwise happy inhabitants of the lately discovered islands in the

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Southern Pacific Ocean; amongst whom the prac- CHAP. tice of offering human facrifices to their deities. is still asdreadfully prevalent, as it anciently was

among most of the nations of the earth.

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Having thus mentioned the natives of the South-fea Islands, I cannot but advert to the wonderful fimilarity observable in many respects. between our ill-fated West Indians and that placid people. The fame frank and affectionate temper, the fame chearful fimplicity, gentleness and candour; a behaviour, devoid of meanness and treachery, of cruelty and revenge, are apparent in the character of both: --- and although placed at fo great a distance from each other, and divided by the intervention of the American Continent, we may trace a refemblance even in many of their customs and institutions; fuch as their national fongs and dances, their domestic œconomy, their system of government, and their funeral ceremonies. I pretend not, however, to affirm that this refemblance is fo exact, as to create the prefumption of a common origin. The affinity perceivable in the difpolitions and virtues of these widely separated tribes, arose probably from a fimilarity in their circumstances and fituation, operating on the general principles of human nature. Placed alike in a happy medium, between favage life, properly fo called, and the refinements of polished lociety, they are found equally exempt from the fordid corporeal diffreffes and fanguinary passions of the former state, and from the artificial necessities, the restraints and solicitudes of the latter. To a speculative mind, such a fituation may appear, for a moment, even fuperior to our own; "but if we admit" (fays the elegant historian of the amiable Otaheiteans) "that they are upon the whole happier than

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BOOK "we, we must admit that the child is happier.

"than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views."\*

In those inventions and arts which, varying the enjoyments, add considerably to the value of life, I believe the Otaheiteans were in general somewhat behind our islanders: in agriculture they were particularly so.† The great support of the insular territories of the South-Sa consists of the bread-fruit, and the plantain; both which flourish there spontaneously; and although the inhabitants have likewise plantain.

\* Hawkefworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

† Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, vol. i. p. 332, observes that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the use of the metals, their agriculture must necessarily have been imperfect. It should however be remembered that as every family raised corn for their out fupport, and the islands being (to use the expression of la Cafas) " abounding with inhabitants as an anthill with anti, a very small portion of ground allotted to the maintenance of each family, would comprehend in the aggregate an imment fpace of cultivated country. Thus we find Bartholomew Columbus observing, that the fields about. Zabraba, a country in the Gulph of Darien, which he viewed in 1503, "were all covered " with maize, like the corn fields of Europe, for above fix leagues "together." Unacquainted with the foil of the West Indies, Dr. Robertson should have delivered his sentiments on this subject with diffidence. That foil which is known in these islands by the name of brick-mould, is not only superior to most others in fertility, but requires very little trouble in cultivation. Among our islanders, to whom the use of iron was unknown, infinments were ingeniously formed of stone, and of a certain species of durable wood, which were endued with nearly equal folidity and sharpness. We find them felling large trees, building canoes and houses, and forming domestic utenfils of exquifite workmanship. Possessing the tools and materials necessary for these purposes, they could not be destitute of proper implements for the ruder operations of husbandry, on 1 foil incapable of much refistance.

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tations of yams and other esculent roots, CHAP. yet the cultivation of none of them appears to be as extensive, as was that of the maize in the West Indies, or to display equal skill with the preparation of the cassavi-bread from the maniock.\* The West Indians, notwithstanding that they possessed almost every variety of vegetable nature which grew in the countries I have mentioned, the bread fruit excepted, raifed also both the maize and the maniock in great abundance; and they had acquired the skill of watering their lands from distant rivers, in times of drought.† It may likewise be observed, that although the Otaheiteans possess the shrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it by culture, nor have the knowledge of converting its wool into cloth; but content themselves with a far meaner production as a substitute. Our islanders had not only the skill of making excellent cloth from their cotton, but they practifed also the art of dying it with a variety of colours:

<sup>\*</sup> L'Abbe Raynal, in opposition to the testimony of all the early Spanish historians who have treated of the discovery and productions of America, (none of whom indeed does he appear to have confulted) afferts that the maniock plant was origivally introduced into the West Indies from Africa, and that the Indians were first instructed by the negroes in the art of converting the poilonous root into wholesome food. For the fatisfaction of fuch of my readers as are not intimately acquainted with the American History, I think it necessary to observe, that P. Martyr, in his first decad, which bears date November, 1493, seven months only after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, particularly mentions the mamock, or jucco, as furnishing great part of the food of the illanders, and he describes their manner of making the coffavi bread from it; observing that the raw juice is as strong a poiion as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

<sup>†</sup> Martyr, Decad. iii. Forster's Observations.

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BOOK lours; fome of them of the utmost brilliancy

I. and beauty.\*

In the science of ship-building (if the construction of such vessels as either people used, may be diffinguished with that appellation) the superiority is on the fide of Otaheite; yet the Piragua's of the West Indians were fully sufficient for the navigation they were employed in and indeed were by no means contemptible feaboats. We are told that some of these vessels were navigated with forty oars;† and Herran relates, that Bartholomew Columbus, in paffing through the Gulph of Honduras, fell in with one that was eight feet in breadth, and in length equal to a Spanish galley. Over the middle was an awning, composed of mats and palm-tree leaves; underneath which were disposed the women and children, fecured both from rain and the fpray of the fea.—It was laden with commodities from Jucatan. 1 mon bloby

On the other hand, our islanders far surpassed the people of Otaheite, in the elegance and variety of their domestic utensils and surniture; their earthenware, curiously woven beds, and implements of husbandry. Martyr speaks with admiration of the workmanship of some of the former of these. In the account he gives of a magnificent donation from Anacoana to Bartholomew Columbus, on his first visit to that Princess, he observes that, among other valuables, she presented him with sourteen chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, and no less than fixty vessels of different sorts, for the use of his kitchen and table, all of which were ornamented with figures of various kinds, fantastic forms, and accurate

reprefentations

<sup>\*</sup> Oviedo. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 935.

<sup>†</sup> Martyr, Decad. i.

Herrara, Decad. i. lib. v.

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representations of living animals\*. The in-CHAP.
dustry and ingenuity of our Indians therefore
must have greatly exceeded the measure of their
wants. Having provided for the necessities of
their condition, they proceeded to improve and
adorn it.

But I must now leave them to the miserable fate in which it pleased infinite, but inscrutable, wildom to permit their merciles invaders to involve them for ever!—It may, I think, be fafely affirmed, that the whole story of mankind affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercised on these innocent and inoffensive people. All the murders and defolations of the most pitiless tyrants that ever diverted themselves with the pangs and convultions of their fellow creatures, fall infinitely short of the bloody enormities committed by the Spanish nation in the conquest of the New World;—a conquest, on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! But although the accounts which. are transmitted down to us of this dreadful carnage, are authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute, the mind shrinking from the contemplation, wifhes to refift conviction, and to relieve itfelf by incredulity:—Such at least is the apology which I would frame for the author of the American History, when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate such horrible wickedness t. Vol. I.

P. Martyr, Decad. i.

<sup>†</sup> Introduction to the History of America, by Dr. Robertson, vol. i. p. 10. "It is to be hoped" (fays this author) "that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. From what I have experienced in the course of my enquiries, I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however "REPREMENSIBLE"

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BOOK Yet the fame author admits, that in the from interval of fifteen years subsequent to the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hispaniola "from a million to fixty thousand "." It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleness of these poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a constitutional defect, if it existed, entitled them to greater lenity; but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without rest or intermission. until death, their only refuge, put a period to their fufferings. Such as attempted refistance or escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their field. They difregarded fex and age, and with impious and frantic bigotry even called in religion to fancify their cruelties! Some, more zealous than the reft, forced their miserable captives into the water, and after administering to them the rite of baptifm, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apostacy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles! Nor were these the excesses only of a blind and remorfeless fanaticism, which exciting our abhorrence, excites also our pity: The Spaniards were actuated in many instances by such wantonness of malice, as is wholly unexampled in the wide history of human depravity.-Martyr relates that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians

<sup>&</sup>quot;individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favourable light." This opinion however, needs no other refutation than that which is to be found in the subsequent pages of the learned Author's History.

\* History of America, vol. i. book iii. p. 185.

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Indians of Hispaniola in sport, or merely, he ob- CHAP. ferves, to keep their hands in use. They had an .. III. emulation which of them could most dexterously firike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this hellish exercife\*. To fill up the measure of this iniquity, and demonstrate to the world, that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the Court of Spain not only neglected to punish these enormities in its subjects, but when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purposes, by the utter extirpation of the natives of Hispamola, the King gave permission to seize on the unfuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and transport them to perish in the mines of St. Domingo. " Several veffels" (fays Dr. Robertson) " were fitted out for the Lucayos, " the commanders of which informed the natives, " with whose language they were now well ac-" quainted, that they came from a delicious " country, in which their departed ancestors "refided, by whom they were fent to invite "them to refort thither, to partake of the blifs. "which they enjoyed. That fimple people" " listened with wonder and credulity, and fond " of vifiting their relations and friends in that " happy region, followed the Spaniards with " eagerness. By this artifice, above 40,000 " were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the . " fufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants " of that island, and to mingle their groans " and tears with those of that wretched race of "ment." After reading these accounts, who

P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii.
† History of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewise
P. Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following
affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently.

I. of Heaven, by fome miraculous interpolition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth, who, like so many beasts of prey, roamed round the world only to desolate and destroy; and, more remorseless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood, without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their desence!

On the whole, if we consider of how little

lently decoyed from their native countries. " Many of " them in the anguish of despair, obstinately refuse all " manner of fustenance, and retiring to defert caves and " unfrequented woods, filently give up the ghoft. Other, " repairing to the sea-coast on the northern fide of Hispa-" niola, cast many a longing look towards that part of the " ocean where they suppose their own islands to be fituated; " and as the fea-breeze rifes, they eagerly inhale it; fond-" ly believing, that it has lately vifited their own happy " vallies, and comes fraught with the breath of those they " love, their wives and their children. With this idea, " they continue for hours on the coaft, until nature becomes " utterly exhausted; when stretching out their arms towards " the ocean, as if to take a last embrace of their distant " country and relations, they fink down, and expire with-" out a groan."-One of the Lucayans" (continues the Same author) " who was more defirous of life, or had greater courage than most of his countrymen, took upon " him a bold and difficult piece of work. Having been " used to build cottages in his native country, he procured " instruments of stone, and cut down a large spongy tree " called jaruma", the body of which he dexteroully scoop-" ed into a canoe. He then provided himself with oars, " fome Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and pre-" vailed on another man and a woman to embark with him " on a voyage to the Lucayos Islands. Their navigation " was prosperous for near 200 miles, and they were almost " within fight of their own long-lost shores, when unfor-" tunately they were met by a Spanish ship, which brought " them back to flavery and forrow. The canoe is fill " preserved in Hispaniola as a fingular curiofity, confider-" ing the circumstances under which it was made." " The bombax, or wild cotton tree.

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benefit the acquisition of these islands has fince CHAP. proved to the Spanish nation, and count over the cost of the conquest, we must find it extremely difficult to include fuch an event as the massacre of ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongst the number of those partial evils which ultimately terminate in general good: Nor can we possibly reconcile its permission to our limited ideas of infinite wisdom and goodness! Divines therefore justly conclude, that no stronger proof than that which arises from hence need be given of the existence of a future and better state, wherein the unequal distribution of misery and happiness in this life shall be adjusted; " when the crooked " shall be made straight, and the rough places " plain\*!"

\* In 1585 Sir Francis Drake made a descent on Hispaniola; and in his account of that island, which is preserved in Hakluyt, vol. iii. he relates that the Spaniards,
having utterly exterminated the ancient Indians, (not a fingle
descendant being, I doubt, at that time living) had nevertheless derived so little advantage from their cruelty, as to be
obliged to convert pieces of leather into money;—all the filver,
in the attainment of which from the bowels of the earth so
many thousands of poor wretches had perished, having long
since found its way to Europe, and the inhabitants had no
means of getting a fresh supply.

Is may be proper in this place to observe, that some of the circumstances which I have related above, respecting the cruelties of the Spaniards, are extracted from the writings of Bartholomew De Las Casas, who is accused by Dr. Robertson of exaggeration;—but Oviedo himself, who endeavours to palliate the monstrous barbarities of his countrymen towards the natives, by afferting that they were addicted to unnatural vices, which rendered them properly obnoxious to punishment (a charge, by the way, which Herrara admits to be groundless)—Oviedo, I say, consesses that in 1535, only sorry-three years posterior to the discovery of Hispaniola, and when he was himself on the spot, there were not left alive in that island above sive hundred of the original natives, old and young; for he adds, that all the other Indians at that time there, had been forced

BOOK forced or decoyed into flavery, from the neighbouring iflands. Las Casas, it is true, when he speaks of numbers in the gross. certainly over-rates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he meant to deceive; nor is there any just reason to fuspect his veracity when he treats of matters susceptive of precision; more especially in circumstances of which he declares himself to have been an eye-witness. Let the reader judge of Las Cafas from the following narrative, in which his falsehood (if the story were false) could have been very eafily detected. " I once beheld" (fays he) " four or five pris. " cipal Indians roafted alive at a flow fire; and as the milerable " victims poured forth dreadful screams, which disturbed the " commanding officer in his afternoon flumbers, he fent word " that they should be strangled; but the officer on guard [] " KNOW HIS NAME, AND I KNOW HIS RELATIONS IN IL-" VILLE) would not fuffer it; but caufing their mouths to be " gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the " fire with his own hands, and roafted them deliberately the " they all expired .- I saw IT MYSELF."!!!

It may be necessary perhaps, on my own account, to add, that I have no other edition of Las Casas, than that which was published at Antwerp, in 1579. From a copy of that edition I have extracted the foregoing horrid relation; my hand trembling as I write, and my heart devoutly within

it could be proved to be falle.

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Oviedo, lib. iii. c. vi.

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the second of long charts talled court, and and Land animals used as food .- Fishes and wild fowl. -Indian method of fishing and fowling .- Esculent vegetables, &c .- Conclusion.

N tracing the feveral tribes of quadrupeds, properly fo called, which anciently existed in the West Indies, it will be found that the Windward or Charaibean Islands, possessed all that were possessed by the larger islands, and some species which the latter were without. It is likewife observable that all the animals of the former, are still found in Guiana, and few or none of them in North America: These are additional proofs that the Windward Islands were anciently peopled from the South. The enumeration of them fallows: swollar

- i. The Agouti, so is all to a statutohi
- 2. The Pecary,
  - 3. The Armadillo,
  - 4. The Opuffum, old w grang of 1
  - 5. The Racoon, are wine shake brew
  - 6. The Musk Rat,
  - 7. The Alco. Thibron A imone
  - 8. The smaller Monkey of several varicties.

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These I think are their most general appellations; but, from the variety of Indian languages, or dialects rather of the same language, which anciently prevailed in the Islands and on the neighbouring Continent, some of these animals

names, that, in reading the accounts of them transmitted by the French and Spanish historians, it is often difficult to understand of which in particular they mean to speak.

The agouti is fometimes called couti, and coati. It was corrupted into uti and utia, by the Spaniards; and at prefent it is known in some pans of the West Indies by the terms pucarara and Indian coney. It is the mus aguti of Linnæus, and

the cavy of Pennant and Buffon.

To these writers it is sufficient to refer, for a description of its nature and properties.—I shall briefly observe that, in comparing it with the quadrupeds of Europe, it seems to constitute an intermediate species between the rabbit and the rat; and of the animals which I have enumerated above, this and the last are I fear the only ones that have escaped the common fate of all the nobler inhabitants of these unfortunate islands, man himself (as we have seen) not excepted! The agouti is still frequently found in Porto Rico, Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes in the mountains of Jamaica. In most of the islands to Windward, the race, though once common to them all, is now I believe utterly extinct.

The pecary, which was known in the Windward Islands only, and the Continent, has been honoured with no less variety of names than the agouti. According to Rochefort, it was also called javari and pacquire. By Dampier it is named pelas. By Acosta saino and zaino. It is the sus tajacu of Linnæus, and the pecary and Mexican-mush hog of our English naturalists.

Of this animal a very full and particular account has been given by Monf. Buffor in his Natural History, and by Dr. Tyfon in the Philosophical Transactions. I have heard that it fill

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abounds in many of the provinces of Mexico: CHAP. but in the West Indian Islands I believe the breed has been long fince exterminated. Those that I have feen were carried thither from the Continent as objects of curiofity; and they appeared to me to differ from the European hog principally in the fingular but well-known circumstance of their having a musky discharge from an aperture or gland on the back, erroneously supposed to be the navel; and in the colour of their briftles; the pecary being indeed highly ornamented; for the briftles of those that I beheld, were of pale blue, tipt with white. It is also related of this animal, that it possesses far greater courage than the hog of Europe, and when hunted by dogs, will frequently turn and compel its enemy to retreat. Thus its native bravery bringing it within the reach of fire arms, contributed doubtless to its final destruction in the Islands.

Of the armadillo, the species anciently known in these islands was I think that which is called by systematical writers the nine banded. It is covered with a jointed shell or scaly armour, and has the faculty of rolling itself up, like the hedge-hog. As food it is said to very wholesome and delicate. It was once found in all parts of the West Indies.

The opussum (or manitou) is distinguishable from all other animals, by a wonderful property. Under the belly of the semale there is a pouch, wherein she receives and shelters her young.—Both this and the former animal are too well known to the curious in natural researches, to render it necessary for me to be more particular. I believe the opussum, like the pecary, was unknown to the larger islands.

The racoon was common in Jamaica in the time of Sloane, who observes that it was eaten

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BOOK by all forts of people. Its abode was chiefly in hollow trees, from whence, fays Sloane, it makes paths to the cane-fields, where it chiefly fublists; a circumstance which while it indicates that its number was considerable, easily accounts for its destruction.

The musk rat is the piloris of naturalists: it burrows in the earth, and smells so strongly of musk, that its retreat is easily discovered. According to the French writers, these abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward Islands to a great degree \*; and its resemblance to the common rat of Europe, though four times as large, probably proved fatal to the whole race. I am inclined to suspect that this animal

is the agouti of the larger Islands.

The alco, was the native dog of the New Hemisphere, nor does it feem to have differed greatly from that of the Old; except that it polfessed not the power of barkings. The native of Hispaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their fieth a great delicacy. "In St. Domingo" (fays Acofta) "the "dogs of Europe have multiplied fo exceeding " ly that at this time (1587) they are a puisance " and a terror to the inhabitants, and a price if " fet on their heads as on wolves in Old Spain "At first there were no dogs in this island, but a small mute creature resembling a dog, with "a nose like that of a fox; which the native called alco. The Indians were so fond of " these little animals, that they carried them of " their houlders wherever they went, or not rished them in their bosoms." sille me is the

The monkey and its varieties require no defeription.—An Englishman is not easily reconciled

<sup>\*</sup> P. Labat, tom. ii. p. 302. † F. Col. c. xxiv.

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by an officer of distinction, who was obliged to IV. live on them some time for want of other animal food, that they have very much the flavour of hare.

Thus it appears that out of eight different species of edible quadrupeds, one only was domestic and sequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his favage flate. Of the beafts of the forest, the strongest dispute his superiority and the weakest avoid his approach. To his conveniency therefore they contribute nothing, and towards his nourishment, the supplies that they afford are casual and uncertain. Nature however feems to have displayed towards the inhabitants of these islands, a bounty that almost rendered superfluous the labours of art in procuring them sustenance; for, besides the animals that I have mentioned, and those that are furnished by the rivers and the sea, the woods were peopled with two very extraordinary creatures; both of which anciently were, and still are, not only used as food, but accounted Tuperior delicacies.

These are the iguana and the mountain-crab. The iguana (or, as it is more commonly written, the guana) is a species of Lizard:—a class of animals, about which naturalists are not agreed whether to rank them with quadrupeds, or to degrade them to serpents.—They seem therefore to stand aloof from all established systems, and indeed justly claim a very distinguished place by themselves. From the alligator, the most formidable of the samily, measuring sometimes twenty seet in length, the gradation is regular in diminution of size to the small lizard of three inches; the same figure and conformation nearly (though not wholly) prevailing in each. The iguana is

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BOOK one of the intermediate species, and is common ly about three feet long, and proportionably bulky. It lives chiefly among fruit trees, and i perfectly gentle and innoxious. Europeans doubtless learnt to make food of them from the example of the ancient Indians, amongst whom the practice of hunting them was a favourite diversion\*; and they are now become gene rally scarce, except in the islands of the Wind. ward passage, and such other places between the tropics as are feldom vifited by man. I believe indeed the English, even when they were more plentiful, did not often ferve them at elegant tables; but their French and Spanish neighbour, less squeamish, still devour them with exquisite relish: I imagine too they have good reason; for I have been affured by a lady of great beauty and elegance, who spoke from experience, that the iguana is equal in flavour and wholesomends to the finest green turtlet.

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F. Col. c. xxv.

<sup>†</sup> P. Labat likewise speaks of a fricasseed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteness of its flesh and the delicacy of its flavour .- Tom. iii. p. 315 In a fubsequent page, he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no object on to accompany the good Father a là chasse, he may partice pate in the diversion as follows: "We were attended" (sin he) "by a negro, who carried a long rod; at one end of " which was a piece of whipcord with a running knot "After beating the bushes for some time, the negroe disco-" vered our game balking in the fun on the dry limb of a tree. " Hereupon he began whiftling with all his might, to which "the guana was wonderfully attentive, stretching out his next and turning his head, as if to enjoy it more fully. The " negro now approached, still whistling, and advancing he rod gently, began tickling with the end of it the fides and " throat of the guana, who feemed mightily pleased with the " operation; for he turned on his back, and stretched out like " a cat before a fire, and at length fairly fell afleep; which

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Respecting the mountain crab, which still fur- CHAP. ives in the larger of these Islands, though its nal extinction is probably at hand, its history is wonderful, that I choose rather to give it in he language of others, than in any recital of wown. The authors from whom I transcribe, re Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote om their own knowledge and personal observaon, and the facts which they relate have been epeated to me a thousand times in the West ndies, by persons, who I am sure never knew hat has been published on the subject by any thor whatever. " These animals" (says Du ertre) " live not only in a kind of orderly society in their retreats in the mountains, but regularly once a year march down to the feafide in a body of some millions at a time. As they multiply in great numbers, they chuse the months of April or May to begin their expedition; and then fally out from the stumps of hollow trees, from the clefts of rocks, and from the holes which they dig for themselves under the surface of the earth. At that time the whole ground is covered with this band of adventurers; there is no fetting down one's foot without treading upon them. The fea is their place of destination, and to that they direct their march with right-lined precision. No geometrician could fend them

the negro perceiving, dexterously slipt the noose over his head, and with a jerk brought him to the ground: and good sport it afforded" (continues the reverend historian) " to see the creature swell like a turkey cock, at finding himself entrapped. We caught others in the same way, and kept one of them alive seven or eight days, but it grieved me to the heart to find that he thereby lost much delicious sat." hese animals are likewise known in the East Indies. Sir oseph Banks shot one of them at Batavia, and sound it good rod.

BOOK " to their destined station by a shorter course; " they neither turn to the right nor to the left " whatever obstacles intervene; and if they meet " with a house, they will attempt to scale the " walls to keep the unbroken tenor of their way. " But though this be the general order of their " route, they upon other occasions are compell-" ed to conform to the face of the country, and " if it be intersected by rivers, they are seen to " wind along the course of the stream. The " procession sets forward from the mountains " with the regularity of an army under the gui-" dance of an experienced commander." They " are commonly divided into battalions, of " which the first consists of the strongest and " boldest males, that, like pioneers, march for " ward to clear the route and face the greatest "dangers. The night is their chief time of " proceeding, but if it rains by day they do not " fail to profit by the occasion, and they conti-" nue to move forward in their flow uniform " manner. When the fun shines and is hot up-" on the furface of the ground, they make an " universal halt, and wait till the cool of the " evening. When they are terrified, they " march back in a confused diforderly manner, " holding up their nippers, with which they " fometimes tear off a piece of the fkin, and " leave the weapon where they inflicted the wound.

"When after a fatiguing march, and escaping a thousand dangers, for they are sometimes three months in getting to the shore, they have arrived at their destined port, they prepare to cast their spawn. For this purpose the crab has no sooner reached the shore, than it eagerly goes to the edge of the water, and lets the waves wash over its body two or three

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ed under the fand; and foon after, millions at a time of the new born crabs, are feen quitting the shore, and slowly travelling up to the mountains."

So far Du Tertre, as copied by Goldsmith. What follows, is from Brown's History of Ja-"The old crabs having difburthened themselves" (as above) " generally regain their habitations in the mountains by the latter end of June. In August they begin to fatten, and prepare for moulting; filling up their burrows with dry grafs, leaves, and abundance of other materials. -- When the proper period comes, each retires to his hole, thuts up the passage and remains quite unactive until he gets rid of his old fhell, and is fully provided with a new one. How long they continue in this state is uncertain, but the shell is first observed to burst at the back and the fides, to give a passage to the body, and the animal extracts its limbs from all the other parts gradually afterwards. At this time' the flesh is in the richest state, and covered only with a tender membranous skin, variegated with a multitude of reddiff veins, but this hardens gradually, and foon becomes a perfect shell like the former. It is however remarkable that, during this change, there are some stony concretions always formed in the bag, which waste and diffolve as the creature forms and perfects its new crust."

To these full and particular accounts. I will add, of my own knowledge, that many people, in order to eat of this singular animal in the highest perfection, cause them to be dug out of the earth in the moulting state; but they are usually

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BOOK usually taken from the time they begin to move of themselves, till they reach the sea as already related. During all this time they are in fpawn, and if my testimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feasted, on the subject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choicest morsels in nature. The observation therefore of Du Tertre. is neither hyperbolical, nor extravagant. Speaking of the various species of this animal, he terms them " a living and perpetual fupply of " manna in the wilderness; equalled only by " the miraculous bounty of Providence to the " children of Ifrael when wandering in the de-They are a resource," continues he, " to which the Indians have at all times re-" fort; for when all other provisions are scarce. " this never fails them."

Such plenty, if not variety, of animal food had the lavish hand of nature enabled the groves and the forests of these highly savoured islands to furnish for the use of man. The regions of water and of air were still more copiously gisted. Happily the inhabitants of those elements, less obnoxious to the arts of destruction than the races that I have described, are yet sufficiently numerous to bear witness themselves to the inexhaustible liberality of their almighty Creator.—We may say in the language of Milton,

With fry innumerable fwarm, and shoals
Of fish glide under the green wave.

Part fingle, or with mate,
Graze the sea-weed their pasture; and thro' groves
Of coral stray, or, sporting with quick glance,
Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold.

While the woods and the marshes equally abound with wild fowl of infinite variety, and exquisite

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exquisite flavour \*. But of the tribes which CHAP. these islands still abundantly furnish, and from IV. whose nature and properties there is no reaion to apprehend an extinction of the race, it is not within my province to treat. The enumeration that I have made has chiefly extended to fuch as from their scarcity are seldom noticed by modern naturalists and voyagers, or of which the knowledge and even the names are lost to the present inhabitants:-for it has been justly observed that what from its antiquity is but little known, has from that circumflance alone the recommendation of novelty. I hall therefore close my account of the animal creation with a description of two very curious methods, known to the antient Indians, of catching fish and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amused.

Vol. I. H "The

\* The most delicious bird in the West Indies is the ortalan. or Olober-bird. It is the emberiza oryzivora of Linnæus, or nce-bird of South Carolina; of which a description is given of Catefby .- Yet it is remarkable that they are reckoned birds of passage in North America as well as, in the West Indies. Catefly observes, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September, to devour the rice: they continue there about three weeks, and retire when the nce begins to grow hard .- He supposes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina; but I believe they are not in the islands till the month of October.—At least it is in that month that they with Jamaica in prodigious flights, to feed on the feeds of the Guinea grass.—According to Catesby, the best only arrive in Carolina in September. The hen is about the bigness of a lark, and coloured not unlike it in the back; the breast and belly pale yellow, the bill strong and sharp-pointed, and haped like most others of the granivorous kind.—The cock's bill is lead colour, the fore part of the head black, the hinder part and the neck of a reddish yellow, the upper part of the wing white, the back next the head black; lower down grey, the rump white, the greatest part of the wing and the whole tail black; the legs and feet brown in both fexes .- Vide the Tellow Fly-catcher of Edwards, p. 5.

BOOK "The Indians of Jamaica and Cuba" (fays Oviedo) " go a fishing with the remora, or suck. " ing-fish, which they employ as falconers em-" ploy hawks. This fish, which is not above a span long, is kept for the purpose and re-" gularly fed. The owner on a calm mom-" ing carries it out to fea, fecured to his cance " by a finall but ftrong line, many fathoms in " length; and the moment the creature fees a " fish in the water, though at a great distance, " it darts away with the swiftness of an arrow, " and foon fastens upon it. The Indian in the " mean time loofens and lets go the line, which " is provided with a buoy that keeps on the " furface of the fea, and ferves to mark the " courle which the remora has taken, and he " pursues it in his canoe, until he conceives his game to be nearly exhaufted and run down He then, taking up the buoy, gradually draws the line towards the shore; the remo-" ra still adhering with inflexible tenacity to " its prey, and it is with great difficulty that " he is made to quit his hold. By this method" (adds Oviedo) "I have known a turtle caught, " of a bulk and weight which no fingle man " could support \*.

Their contrivance for catching wild fowl was equally ingenious, though practifed I believe by other nations, particularly the Chinese, even at this day. In the ponds which these birds frequent, they used to throw calabashes (a species of gourd) which sloat about the water, and which being at length accustomed to, the wild sowl would approach without sear, and sometimes even rest upon. Having succeeded thus

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<sup>\*</sup> Herrara confirms this account. See also P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii.

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far, the sportsman puts one of these gourds on CHAP, his head (first making apertures for the fight and the breath) and very cautiously creeps into the water, either gently swimming, or walking where the stream is shallow, with his head only above the water, until he gets among the fowl, when seizing one at a time by the seet, and dragging it by a sudden jerk under the surface, he fastens it to his girdle, and thus loads himself with as many as he can carry away, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the rest.

I might now proceed to an enumeration and account of the esculent vegetables originally produced in these Islands; especially those most valuable ones, the maize, the plantain, the maniock, and the different species of the dioscorea or yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of these climates, the natives without doubt composed the chief part of their daily support: but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of fystematical writers; particularly those of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheless it were to be wished that those authors had more frequently discriminated than they appear to have done, fuch vegetables as are indigenous, from those which have been transplanted from foreign countries. Nature, with most beneficent intention, has bestowed on distant climates and regions many species peculiar to each. This variety in her works, is one of the greatest incitements to human industry; and the progress of men in spreading abroad the bleffings of Providence, adorning and enriching the widely separated regions of the globe with their reciprocal productions, as it is one of the most useful employments of our faculties, so it is a subject which H 2

BOOK which well deserves the notice of the historian, and the contemplation of the philosopher.

But it is now time to quit general description for particular history. Many objects indeed are hereafter to be considered, which, being common to all our West Indian possessions, will be comprehensively discussed;—but in previously treating of the origin and progress of our national establishments in them, it seems proper to discourse of each Island separately;—and, as the most important, I begin with Jamaica.

I I swim now proceed to an countries on and serount of the election veigliables originally provinceigm thele blands; electally those most subplace ones, the trainer the planting, be mrsioce, and the different (popier of the distance encially worm and the dade to part to that s, the growth of view ollerates, the natives while it doubt composed the chief plot of their days figged to but I such supplied with a relicipant by the voluntinous collections of lytenspical whilete genticalisely those of Bloans, Brown, and Haghes. New the class serve to be wifeed that shope studies out more frequently diftempered than they expect to have dene, fuch yegetables as are in agenous, from shoul which have been greniplant, from todown course thes. Mature, with noth bear feet, it entians agoingst bus' astemile matter no beworker and many Ineciae peculiar as each. I as variety is her works, is one of the greatest nelvenegits to husian industry; and the propert of men in -N B Q Q Anbroad the bleffings, of the idente.

adorizing and enriching the widely lightened regroup of the giphe with their sectored productions, at it is one of the most wirful employments of our sectors, for a school

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## APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

Containing some additional observations concerning the origin of the Charaibes.

HAVING ventured, in the second chapter of APPENthis book, to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who assign to some of the natives of America an oriental origin, and suppose
that they anciently crossed the Atlantic Ocean, II
beg the reader's indulgence while I briefly state
the evidence whereon I attempt to rebuild a system, which it has become fashionable, among
some late philosophers, to reject and deride.

So many volumes have indeed already been written, and so much useless learning exhausted, on the subject of the first peopling America, that I doubt the reader will shrink with disgust from an investigation, which perhaps has given rise to as great a number of idle books, as any question (some disputed points in divinity excepted) that ever distracted the attention of mankind.

It may be necessary therefore to premise, that I mean to apply my argument to the Charaibe Nation only; a people whose manners and characteristic features denote, as I conceive, a different ancestry from that of the generality of the American nations.

It is not wonderful that the notion of their transatlantic origin should have been treated with

De originibus Americanis, lib. ii. c. vi.

I. like the framers of most other systems, by attempting to prove too much, have gained even less credit than they deserve. In contending that the New World was first planted, by adventurers from the Old, they universally take for granted, that some of those adventurers returned, and gave accounts of their discoveries; for they suppose that America was well known to the ancients; that not only the Phenicians made repeated voyages thither; but that the Egyptians and Carthaginians also, voluntarily crossed the Atlantic, and planted Colonies, at different periods, in various parts of the New Hemisphere.

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In support of these opinions, quotations have been made from poets, philosophers and historians: But, if we reflect on the limited extent of navigation before the discovery of the compass; the prevailing direction of the winds between the tropics; and various other obstruetions, we may I think very confidently determine (notwithstanding the traditions preferved by Plato; the poetical reveries of Seneca the tragedian, and many other passages in ancient writers, which admit of various interpretations, and therefore prove nothing) that no wellel ever returned from any part of America before that of Columbus. This conclusion however does by no means warrant us in pronouncing that no vessel ever sailed thither from the ancient continent, either by accident or defign, anterior to that period. That fuch inftances did actually happen, and by what means, I shall now endeavour briefly to point out. It is not wonderful

There is no circumstance in history better attested than that frequent voyages from the Mediterranean along the African coast, on the At-

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lantic Ocean, were made, both by the Phenici-APPENans and Egyptians, many hundred years before DIX. the Christian era. It is true, that almost all the accounts which have been transmitted to us, in profane history, of those expeditions, are involved in obscurity, and intermixed with absurdity and fable; -but it is the bufiness of philophy to separate, as much as possible, truth from fallhood; and not hastily to conclude, because some circumstances are extravagant, that all are without foundation. We know from indifputable authority, that the Phenicians discovered the Azores, and vifited even our own Island before the Trojan war.\* That their fucceffors the Carthaginians, were not less diffinguished for the spirit of naval enterprize, we may condude from the celebrated expedition of Hanno; who, about 250 years before the birth of our Saviour, failed along the African coaft, until he came within five degrees of the line. It was the Carthaginians who discovered the Canary Islands, and it appears, from the testimony of Pliny, that they found in those islands, the mins of great buildings, (vestigia Ædisiciorum) a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which history is filent.

So far, we have clear historical evidence to guide us in our researches. Not less clear and

<sup>\*</sup> Procopius, Secretary to Belifarius in the time of Justinian, mentions in his Vandalica, book ii. that there were then standing in Africa Tingitana, (Tangier) two columns erected by the Chananites that sted from Joshua, the son of Nun. Eusebius also writes that those Chananites which were driven out by the Israelites conducted Colonies to Tripoli, in Africa. (Bochart in Canaan, cap. xxiv.)—that they navigated the Western Ocean (cap. xxxvi.) and were in Gaul and Britain (cap. xlii.) See also Sammes's Phænician History of Britain.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. vi. c. xxxii. de Fortunatis Infulis.

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I. of the Phenician navigation, down the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, to distant parts of Asia and Africa, in ages still more remote than those that have been mentioned. In the voyages undertaken by King Solomon, he employed the ships and mariners of that adventurous and commercial people. With their assistance he sitted out sleets from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red Sea, supposed to be the Berenice of the Greeks. Of those ships, some were bound for the western coast of the great Indian continent; others, there is reason to believe, turning towards Africa, passed the southern promontory, and returned home by the Mediterranean to the port

of Joppa. In support of this account of the flourishing state of ancient navigation in the Arabian Gulph, we have, first of all, the highest authority to refer to; that of the scriptures. Next to which, we may rank the testimony of Herodotus, the father of profane history; the truth of whole well-known relation of a Phenician fleet doubling the Cape of Good Hope fix hundred years before the birth of Christ, was never disputed I believe, until our learned countryman, the author of the late American history, delivered it as his opinion that "all the information we " have received from the Greek and Roman " authors, of the Phenician and Carthaginian " voyages, excepting only the short narrative " of Hanno's expedition before mentioned, is

" of fuspicious authority."\*

I shall quote from Herodotus the passage alluded to, that the reader may judge for himself of the veracity of the venerable old Grecian.

<sup>\*</sup> Robertson's History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

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h is as follows. " Lybia is every where encir-APPEN-" cled by the fea, except on that fide where it " adjoins to Afia. Pharaoh Neco, King of " Egypt,\* made this manifest. After he had " defifted from his project of digging a canal " from the Nile to the Arabian Gulph, he fur-" nished a body of Phenicians with ships, com-" manding them to enter the Northern Sea by "the Pillars of Hercules; and fail back by that "route to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore " failing from the Red Sea navigated the South-"ern Ocean: At the end of autumn they an-"chored, and going ashore sowed the ground, " as those who make a Lybian voyage always do, " and flaid the harvest. Having cut the corn, "they failed. Thus two years having elapsed, "they returned to Egypt, passing by the Pil-"lars of Hercules; and they reported a cir-"cumstance which I can scarcely credit, but " other people may, that failing round Lybia " the fun rose on the right hand +?"

Notwithstanding the doubts entertained by Dr. Robertson respecting this account, I perceive in it such evidence of truth, as to my own mind, affords entire conviction.—How could it have been known, unless from actual observation, that Africa, towards the South, was encompassed by the sea? The caution with which the venerable historian expresses himself, is remarkable; and the circumstance that the sun rose on the right, is decisive of the main fact;—for

<sup>\*</sup> There were two kings of Egypt of this name. The second, who is generally supposed to have ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, was flain in battle by the Affyrians, I think under the command of Nebuchadnezzar; but an ambiguous phrase in Herodotus, seems rather to point out the elder Neco, who was contemporary with Solomon.

† Herod. Melpomene 42.

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BOOK —for it demonstrates that they had then actually doubled the southern promontory, and were fteering in a northerly direction;—the course

they would necessarily pursue.

Dr. Robertson has shewn, it is true, that many historians and geographers of antiquity, who lived long after the days of Herodotus, knew nothing concerning the form and state of the fouthern parts of Africa.—He observes particularly that Ptolemy, the aftronomer, supposed that this great continent stretched without interruption to the South Pole. All this however only demonstrates that navigation, like many other branches of science, flourished in one age, and declined in another. Herodotus lived 400 years before the birth of our Saviour, and Prolemy 140 years after. Ancient history abundantly proves that the Phenicians, and their fucceffors the Carthaginians, possessed far greater skill in naval affairs, than the Greeks, Romans, or any other nation that came after them, until the spirit of naval discovery revived, and shone with greater lustre than ever, in the fifteenth

From this recapitulation which I have thought necessary to make, though the substance of it may be found in a thousand different authors, (commonly blended indeed with much learned absurdity and frivolous conjecture) the reader will clearly perceive that the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, along the coast of Africa, both from the North and the South, and even at a considerable distance from the land, was well understood and prevailed in very remote ages. Now if we enquire into the nature of the winds and currents on the African coast, and restect, on the various casualties to which ships at sea are liable, even in the most favourable season of

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bly happened in some of those ancient expebly happened in some of those ancient expetions, but even that it was scarce possible not happen, that vessels would be driven by suden gusts, or carried by adverse currents, withthe verge of the trade-wind; in which case, they happened to lose their masts, they must ressarily run before the wind, towards Brasil, the West Indies.

Two remarkable accidents of this nature, ectiely in point, are recorded by writers of edit, and doubtless there are many other inaces equally well authenticated, that have caped my refearch. The first is related by lais, in his history of the Canary Islands, who ferves that a small bark, bound from Lancea to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her use, and obliged to run before the wind until came within two days fail of the coast of raccas; where the fortunately met with an Engheruifer which relieved her diffresses, and dided her to the Port of La Guaira on that coast. be other is told by Gumilla, as follows. December 1731," fays this author, " while I was at the town of St. Joseph, in Trinidad, a small vessel, belonging to Tenerisse, with fix feamen, was driven into that island, by fires of weather. She was laden with wine; and being bound to one other of the Canary Illands, had provisions for a few days only, which, with their utmost care, had been expended a confiderable time; fo that the crew lived entirely on wine. They were reduced to the last extremity, and expected death evey moment, when they discovered Trinidad, and foon afterwards came to an anchor in that island, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants; who ran in crowds to behold the

poor

BOOK " poor feamen; whose emaciated appearance.

" would have sufficiently confirmed the truth of

" their relation, even if the papers and docu-

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"matter out of all possible doubt."

To the preceding inflances, it may be added that Columbus himself, in his second expedition to the West Indies, found the stern-post of a vessel lying on the shore at Guadaloupe;—a circumstance which affords a strong presumption that a ship had been in the New World before him.

Under this head of fortuitous vifits to the American continent prior to that of Columbus may likewise be included the circumstance men tioned by Martyr, that at a place called Quant qua, in the Gulph of Darien, Vascho Nune met with a colony of negroes \* . The enquiry any was made) by what means they came in that region, or how long they had refided in it and the answers to such questions, are not me corded by the Spanish historians; but from the fmallness of their number, it was supposed the had not been long arrived upon that could There can be no doubt but that some acciden tal cause had conducted them thither from Asia ca, and in open canoes, of no better construction than those of the American Indians t. S1911

\* Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante : Quarequa, dierum spatio tantum duorum quæ solos gignit a gritas et eos seroces atque admodum truces.———P. Manya Decad. iii. c. i.

The inhabitants of Java report their origin to have been from China; the tradition among them being that, 850 years ago, their progenitors were driven by a tempest upon that island in a Chinese junk: And we owe the European discovery of Japan to three Portuguese exiles who were ship

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The reader will now perhaps conclude that APPENor. Robertson pronounced too hastily, when he blerved "that fuch events," (as those that I ave mentioned) " are barely possible, and may have happened; but that they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or the obscure intimations of tradition." This declaration is trange, and the more unexpected, as the learnd author had a little before related the circumance of the accidental discovery of Brafil by he Portuguese, in the year 1500. " The fuccessful voyage of Gama to the East Indies" observes the historian) " having encouraged the King of Portugal to fit out a fleet, so powerful, as not only to carry on trade, but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, to retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to fea, and kept fo far to the West, that, to his furprise, he found himself upon the

mecked there in 1542. I believe that ships bound from Eutope to the East Indies, at a certain season of the year geneally make for the southern coast of Brasil, in order to fall
in with the westerly monsoon, which enables them either to
each the Cape of Good Hope, or pursue their route by Malagascar; for while the eastern monsoon prevails, they are
constantly bassed in their attempts to double the Cape, and
me driven to leeward towards the coast of South America.
In the year 1626, when Sir Dodmore Cotton was sent on an
mbassy to the Persian Court, the fleet in which he sailed was
forced by contrary winds within a sew leagues of the island of
strinidad, in the West Indies. Sir Thomas Herbert in his
secount of this voyage, relates that "on the first of June,
when they were by observation in 24° 42' south latitude,
they met with many sudden gusts and storms which rendered them unable to pursue their course, and drove them to
seeward 100 leagues upon the coast of Brasil."

Mitt America, vol i p. 151.

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BOOK " fhore of an unknown country, in the tent " degree beyond the line. He imagined, at fir " that it was fome island in the Atlantic Ocean " hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding alor " its coafts for feveral days, he was led grade " ally to believe that a country fo extening " formed a part of fome great continent. The " latter opinion was well founded. The com " try with which he fell in belongs to that pro " vince in South America now known by the " name of Brafil. He landed; and having form ed a very high idea of the fertility of the " foil and agreeableness of the climate, " took possession of it for the Crown of Pa " tugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with " an account of this event, which appeared " be no less important than it was unexped ed. Columbus's discovery of the New Work " was the effort of an active genius, enlight " ened by science, guided by experience, an " acting upon a regular plan, executed with " no less courage than perseverance. But fro " this adventure of the Portuguese, it appear " that chance might have accomplished the " great defign, which it is now the pride " human reason to have formed and perfecte " If the fagacity of Columbus had not con " ducted mankind to America, Cabral, by " fortunate accident, might have led them, " few years later, to the knowledge of the " extensive continent \*.

And certainly, by fome fuch accident, ages long passed, might the ancient Hemisphe have given a beginning to population in the New; or at least have sent thither the progentors of that separate race of people of which now treat. It remains for me however to asses

Hift. America, vol. i. p. 151.

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my reasons for particularly applying this con-APPENclusion to the Charaibes, instead of any other of the numerous tribes which inhabit the eastern side of the immense continent of South-America.

The migration of any people is best traced by their language: but there is this inconveniency attending this species of evidence, that in reducing a language, merely oral, to writing, different persons even of the same nation, would fometimes represent the same found by a very different combination of letters; -much more frequently would this happen, should the writers be of distant countries, and consequently habituated to various modes of pronunciation and orthography; -- but although I am of opinion therefore that vocabularies preserved by voyagers feldom afford much certainty of information on a comparison with each other; there are, nevertheless, in every language, many words of which the found is too simple to be easily mifunderstood or grossly misrepresented.

Thus, on comparing the Charaibe vocabulary, preserved by Rochesort, with the ancient oriental dialects \*, it is scarce possible to doubt that the following words used by the Charaibes, had their origin in the Old Hemisphere, and we may readily believe that many instances of a similar nature might be adduced, but for the cause I have assigned, namely, the different modes which different persons would necessarily adopt, each according to his own perception of the sound, of reducing the same words to writing: thus creating a perplexity which it is now too

late to disentangle.

Charaibe.

<sup>\*</sup> For this illustration, and other affistance in the course of this enquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend; by whom

BOOK I.

Meaning in English. Roof of a boufe Go thy way Good be to you אישיש His Hene Hera חנד הרדו ני [Hene Hera ni] א שיוף I am fick TWO MO [Boua Bouak]
Cald. AND [Bge
Aki Phouhe [Phouhe] r ctr qr Meaning in French, accord- Words baving the Jame meaning in ing to Rochefort. אלהתף [Nanecheti | Nanecheti | אלהשיכו Couverture de Maison ing to Rochefort. Sois le bien venu Maifon publique Ma peau Je fuis malade Mon Collier Ma femme Va t'en Sa femme Mange Venez ici Du bois Collier Soufflé Bayou boukaa Baika Toubana ora Nané-guaete Halea tibou Yene-neri Yene kali Hue-Hue Hac yete Phoubae Liani Encka Karbet Nora

I am lang Chaing I Hebring I Hebring

add the according with the ed we nate ton

The nofe To cat

Ncheri [Natoni bamen]

Donne moi a boire

Natoni boman

Aika Nichiri

Mon nez

To the proofs arifing from language, I shall APPENadd another.-We have feen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accustomed to land on the Arabian and Lybian coasts, and taking possession of a spot of ground fit for their purpole, they proceeded to plough up and fow it with corn, and waited until it came to maturity;—thus providing themselves with food for a long navigation. This practice must doubtless have given rise to disputes and conflicts between the intruders and the inhabitants. Now it is remarkable that the word Charaibe, in the Arabic language, fignifies, as I am informed, a robber or destroyer, an appellation which we may believe was frequently bestowed by the natives on the invaders of their country \*.

The testimony arising from a similarity of manners, though far less conclusive than the evidence of language, is surely, in the present case, not without its force. That many of the customs of the eastern nations prevailed among the Vol. I.

Charaibes,

lam informed (being myself unacquainted with the oriental languages) that the Samaritan, and old Phenician, the Syriac, Chaldee and Hebrew, are all dialects of one language; differing but little from each other, except in their letters. The Hebrew agrees less with the other dialects than the rest, but is now printed in the same character with the Chaldee. They all form a noun in the same manner except the Hebrew, which prefixes w (S) to form the genitive case, and no (at) to form the accusative; all the others use 7 (D) and no (it).

Naton boman

BOOK Charaibes, I have, I think, fufficiently demon. strated, to those at least who are acquainted with oriental history, in the second chapter of this work. Of some of those customs, the resemblance was probably fortuitous, and a fimilarity of climate and fituation, might have given rife to others; but when very fingular practices prevail between diftant nations, which are neither founded in nature nor climate, nor proceed from fituation and rank in the scale of refinement, the coincidence can scarcely be deemed accidental. Thus, among other customs equally remarkable, it has been related that the Charaibes buried their dead in a cowering posture, with the knees to the chin. That this was an ancient practice of some of the eastern nations appears from the authorities of Herodotus and Cicero; the former recording the existence of it among the Nasamones, a people who inhabited the countries between Egypt and Carthage; and the latter relating the same circumstance of the ancient Persians. I am inclined to believe that this practice prevailed also in the country and age of the patriarchs;—for how otherwise are we to understand the scripture phrase or GATHER-ING UP THE FEET OF THE DYING? " And when " Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, " HE GATHERED UP HIS FEET INTO THE BED, " and yielded up the ghost \*".

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Equally prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations of the Old Hemisphere, were the superstitious rites of shortening the hair and wounding the slesh, in religious ceremonies and lamentations for the dead. That these practices were usual among the heathens, so early as the days of Moses,

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. c. xlix. v. 33.

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is evident from the injunction which the Lord APPEN. laid on the children of Ifrael to avoid them. " Ye shall not round the corners of your head, " neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. " Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh " for the dead, nor print any marks upon you"?" Again,-" Ye are the children of the Lord, your " God: Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make " any baldness between your eyes for the dead †." Among the heathens however the fame ceremonies were still continued; for in Samaria, in the days of Ahab, King of Ifrael, it is recorded of the prophets of Baal that, in worshipping their idol, " they cried aloud and cut them-" selves after their manner with knives and lances " till the blood gusbed out upon them 1."

But perhaps the instance the most apposite and illustrative, was the habit among the Charabes of chewing the betele, preparing it with calcined shells precisely after the manner of the Indians in the East;—a circumstance, which, though recorded by P. Martyr ||, had escaped my researches, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Long. Some other resemblances almost equally striking, might be collected; but the reader will probably think that more than enough has already been said on a subject, the investigation of which he may perhaps deem a mere matter of idle curiosity, neither contributing to the improvement of science, nor the comfort of life.

Here then I conclude: An attempt to trace back the Charaibes of the West Indies to their I 2 progenitors,

<sup>\*</sup> Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

<sup>†</sup> Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

Decad. viii. c. vi.

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I. hemisphere, in order to point out, with any degree of precision or probability, the era of their migration, were (like the voyages I have been describing) to venture on a vast and unknown ocean without a compass;—and even without one friendly star to guide us through the night of conjecture.

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Levit, c. 2015, 3. 271. † Date e. 2017 v. 2. 1 r.Klam, e. 2011 v. 2.

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BOOK II.

JAMAICA\*.

### CHAP. I.

Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's death.—Takes possession of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Sevilla Nueva.—Destruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega

<sup>\*</sup> It may be proper to observe that the governor of Jamaica is stiled in his commission Captain general &c. of Jamaica and the territories thereon depending in America. By these DE-PENDENCIES

Vega founded.—Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's fon Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in perpetual sovereignty.—Descends to his sister Isabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the house of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain, in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596, and Col. Jackson in 1638.

BOOK JAMAICA had the honour of being discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second
expedition to the New World. In his former
voyage he had explored the north-eastern part of
Cuba, proceeding from thence to Hispaniola;
but he had returned to Europe in doubt whether
Cuba was an island only, or part of some great
continent, of which he had received obscure
accounts from the natives. To satisfy himself
in this particular, he determined, soon after his
arrival a second time at Hispaniola, on another
voyage to Cuba, by a south-westerly course,
and, in pursuance of this resolution, on the 24th

PENDENCIES were meant the British settlements on the Musquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras: But his jurisdiction over those settlements having been imperfectly defined, was feldom acknowledged by the fettlers; except when they wished to plead it in bar of the authority claimed by their respective superintendants. On such occasions they admitted a Superior jurisdiction in the governor of Jamaica, and applied to him for commissions civil and military. As both the fettlements were furrendered to the crown of Spain by the Spanish convention figued at London on the 14th of July 1786, it comes not within the plan of my work to enter on a display of their past or present state. I formerly drew up a memorial concerning the fettlement on the Mufquito shore, wherein an account was given of the country, its inhabitants and productions, and the question between Great Britain and Spain, as to the territorial right; pretty fully discussed. This memorial having been laid before the House of Commons in 1774 (by Governor Johnstone) was foon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register.

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of April, 1494, Columbus failed from the Port CHAP. of Isabella, with one ship and two shallops. On Tuesday the 29th, he anchored in the harbour. of St. Nicholas. From thence he croffed over to Cuba, and coasted along the southern side of that Island, furrounded by many thousand canoes filled with Indians, whom curiofity and admiration had brought together. In this navigation, on Saturday the 3d of May, he discovered, for the first time, the high lands of Jamaica on the left, and probably learnt its name (the name which it still retains\*) from some of the Indians that followed him. As this was a new difcovery, and many of the feamen were willing to believe that it was the place to which they had been formerly directed by the Indians of the Bahama Islands, as the country most abounding in gold, Columbus was eafily perfuaded to turn his course towards it. He approached it the next day, and, after a flight contest with the natives, which ended however in a cordial reconciliation, he took possession of the country, with the usual formalities.

But it was not until the fourth and last voyage of Columbus, a voyage undertaken by this great navigator, after he had suffered a severer trial from the base ingratitude of the Country and Prince in whose service he laboured, than from all his past toils, dangers and inquietudes, that he learnt more of Jamaica; which, as it had the honour of being first discovered by him, nine years before, had the still greater honour of affording

P. Martyr. F. Columbus. The early Spanish historians wrote the word Xaymaca. It is said to have fignified, in the language of the natives, a country abounding in springs. Columbus having at first named the Island St. Jago, Oldmixon, and some other writers, erroneously suppose that Jamaica was the augmentative of James.

BOOK affording him shelter from shipwreck. For, on the 24th of June 1503, being on his return to Hispaniola from Veragua, he met with fuch tempestuous weather, as compelled him, after losing two of his ships, to bear away in the utmost distress for this Island. With great diffi. culty, he reached a little harbour on the north fide (which to this hour bears the name of Don Christopher's Cove) where he was forced to run aground the two veffels that were left him, to prevent their foundering. By this difaster, his ships were damaged beyond the possibility of repair, and he had now the melancholy reflection that his miseries and his life would probably terminate together. During the space of twelve months and four days, that he remained in this wretched fituation, he had new dangers to furmount, and unaccustomed trials for the exercise of his fortitude, his people revolted, the Indians deferted him, and the Governor of Hispaniola not only refused to relieve, but with monstrous and unexampled barbarity, aggravated his miffortunes by outrage and mockery. All thele occurrences however, together with the dexterty with which he availed himself of the superstition of the Indians, by the circumstance of an eclipse, and the means whereby his deliverance was at length effected, having been recounted by a thousand different historians, need not be repeated by me. The hardships he fuffered on this occasion, and his Sovereign's ingratitude together, proved too mighty for his generous spirit: he sunk under them; soon after his return to Spain; leaving however a name not to be extinguished, but with that world whose boundaries he had extended \*.

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After the death of its illustrious discoverer, CHAP. the transactions of the Spaniards, during a century

diaries and reports of Governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other transactions in the first lettlement of the Colony. In this book is to be found the translation of a letter to the King of Spain, said to be written by Columbus during his confinement on this Island. As it appears to me to bear marks of authenticity, I shall present it to my readers. It was written probably about eight months after the departure of his messenger Diego Mendez, who had attempted to reach Hispaniola in an Indian canoe. Hearing nothing from him in that interval, Columbus seems to have relinquished every hope of relief, and to have written this letter in an hour of despondency, not as having any probable means of sending it to Spain, but on the idea that it would be found after his death.—It is as follows.

A letter from Christopher Columbus, in Jamaica, to King

Jamaica, 1504 "Diego Mendes, and the papers I fent by him, will hew your Highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greateff misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is sufficient that your Highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and fettlement are referved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highness and my great mistress that this will not only be a Castile and Leon, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet: but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind; nor the mifery and dangers of my fon, brother and friends! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together; thole of my men that were in health have mutinied under the Porras's of Seville, my friends that were faithful are mostly nck and dying, we have confumed the Indians' provisions, fo that they abandon us; all therefore are like to perith by hunger, and these miseries are accompanied with so many aggra-

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BOOK tury and a half, in the fettlement of Jamaica, II. have fearcely obtained the notice of history. Happy

vating circumstances, that render me the most wretched ob. ject of misfortune, this world shall ever see; as if the difple. fure of Heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish as criminal those undertakings and discoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions! Good Heaven, and you holy faints that dwell in it let the King Don Ferdinand and my illustrious mistress Donna Isabella know, that my zeal for their service and intent hath brought me thus low; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I fee, and with horror apprehend, my own, and, for my fake, my unfortunate and deserving peoples' destruction. Alas, piety and justice has retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my milery makes my life a burthen to myself, so I fear the empty titles of Vice-Roy and Admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmite, among favages, where I have neither medicines nor providons for the body, priest nor facrament for the foul. My men in a state of revolt; my brother, my fon, and those that are faithful, fick, starving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the Governor of Saint Domingo has fent nther to see if I am dead, than to succour us, or carry m alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; so I conclude your Highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. O bleffed mother of God, that compaffionates the miferable and oppressed, why did not end Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly-purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains without trial, crime or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me, if chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of fo unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. La it not bring a further infamy on the Castillian name, nor ke ages to come know, there were wretches fo vile in this, that think to recommend themselves to your majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Christopher Columbus; no

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Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their more extensive enterprises, during the same period, were veiled in equal darkness, or consigned to everlasting oblivion: happier still, if their splendour had been transmitted to posterity through a purer medium, and not, as now, serving chiefly to render visible the vices and enormities that surround and debase them!

The few particulars of the progress which, by diligent selection, aided by traditionary memorials.

or his crimes, but for his fervices in discovering and giving spain a new world. As it was Heaven itself that inspired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will weep for me, and ew pity! Let the earth, and every foul in it that loves jufice and mercy, weep for me! And you, O glorified Saints of God, that know my innocency and fee my fufferings here, are mercy! for though this present age is envious or obdume, furely those that are to come will pity me, when they m told that Christopher Columbus, with his own fortune, an the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with ink or no expence to the Crown of Spain, in ten years, and bur voyages, rendered greater services than ever mortal man in to prince or kingdom, yet was left to perish, without beng charged with the least crime, in poverty and misery; all whis chains being taken from him; so that he who gave pain another world, had neither safety in it, not yet a cotage for himself, nor his wretched family: but, should Heaon fill perfecute me, and feem displeased with what I have one, as if the discovery of this new world may be fatal to he old, and as a punishment bring my life to a period in is miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that fueour the oppressed and innocent, bring this paper to my great niftress. She knows how much I have done, and will beere what I have fuffered for her glory and fervice, and will e so just and pious as not to let the children of him that u brought to Spain fuch immense riches, and added to it aft and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or ubfit only on alms. She, if the lives, will confider that melty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven that the wealth I have discovered, shall be the means of irring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spain nation fuffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious and Ingrateful people, do now.

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BOOK als, I have been able to collect, I shall now pre-

II. fent to my readers.

About seventeen years had elapsed after the Spaniards had first fixed themselves in Hispanis ola, before they feem to have entertained any ferious defign of fending forth a colony to pol fess itself of Jamaica. As this island produced neither gold nor filver, it feems to have been neglected as unworthy further notice, and perhaps it might have continued a few years long the peaceful feat of innocent simplicity, but so the base ingratitude of King Ferdinand, towards the family of Columbus. This great man, after his return to Spain in 1504, was compelled to employ the close of his days in fruitless and infome folicitation at the court of an unthankful and unfeeling monarch; who meanly suffered him to be cruelly defrauded of the rights and privileges originally granted to him; and which he had fo dearly and fo nobly came ed. His fon Diego, the heir of his fortune fucceeded to the same debasing necessity, till length, wearied out with frivolous and unprince ly excuses, he instituted a memorable proces against his fovereign before the council of the Indies at Seville; and this court, with a firm ness and virtue that cannot be fufficiently ap plauded, decided in favour of his pretenfions After a minute and folemn investigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary viceroy and high admiral of all the countries and islands discovered by his father. They decreed that he was invested with a jurisdiction over them fimilar to that of the high admiral of Cal tile; that he was entitled to a tenth part of all the gold and filver that might thereafter be found in those territories; and they adjudged him variou other privileges and immunities, of vast exten and

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exten and nd authority. But the king, notwithstanding CHAP. his distinguished and competent recognition of is rights, confirmed to him only the title and uthority of governor and admiral of Hispaniola; nd even of this diminished command, it is proable he would have been deprived, if he had ot fortunately strengthened his interest by an lustrious marriage. The gallant youth, neverheless, still boldly persisted in his claim to the all exercise of all the rights and authority, hich had been fo recently decreed to belong to im; and shortly afterwards, accompanied by a umerous and splendid retinue, embarked for is government, resolved to enforce his pretenons.

He arrived in Hispaniola in the month of July 508, but had very foon the mortification to difover that the king had actually invested in two ther persons (Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de icuesta) not only two separate and distinct goemments, which comprehended all the contient as far as it had been discovered by Chrispher Columbus, but had also included the and of Jamaica, as a joint appendage to, and ace of refreshment within, the jurisdiction of ch. These appointments Diego Columbus condered as a manifest violation of his own rights, d frenuously contended for the exclusive prilege of nominating, in particular, to the gomments of Veragua and Jamaica, the prior covery of both those countries by his father ing a circumstance of universal notoriety. To cure his claim to Jamaica, in the month of ovember 1509, he sent thither Juan de Esquiwith about feventy men. Efquivel had acired the reputation of a gallant foldier, and it fill more to his honour, that he was one of every few Castillians, who, amidst all the hor-

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BOOK rors of bloodshed and infectious rapine, were distinguished for generosity and humanity. An eminent instance of his greatness of mind is thus recorded by Herrera. About the time that he failed from Hispaniola to take possession of his new government of Jamaica, his competitor Ojeda was on his departure to the continent. Ojeda violently opposed the intended expedition of Esquivel, and publicly threatened that if he should find him at Jamaica, on his return from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. It happened that Ojeda's voyage was unfortunate in the highest degree; for after sustaining a series of calamities altogether without example, he was shipwrecked on the Coast of Cuba, and was in danger of miferably perishing for want of food In his diffress he called to mind that Esquivel was in Jamaica, and he was now reduced to the fad er tremity of imploring fuccour from the very ma whose destruction he had meditated; but the magnanimous Efquivel was no fooner made atquainted with the fufferings of his enemy, than he forgot all his refentment. He immediately fent over to Cuba, Pedro de Narvez, an office of rank, to conduct Ojeda to Jamaica. Efquive received him with the tenderest fympathy, and treated him during his stay with every possible mark of distinction and respect, and provided him with the means of a speedy and safe conveyand to Hispaniola. It is pleasing to add, that Ojed was not ungrateful to his benefactor.

Under such a man it is reasonable to suppose that the yoke of subjection sat light and esson the natives of Jamaica, and that the ravage of conquest were restrained within the limits of humanity. Accordingly, the Spanish historian bear the most honourable testimony to his virtuous and gentle administration.—" The affair

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of Jamaica (fays Herrera) went on prosperous- CHAP. ly, because Juan de Esquivel having brought the natives to submission without any effusion of blood, they laboured in planting cotton, and raising other commodities which yielded great profit." This praise is the more valuable beause it is almost peculiar to Esquivel, who alone eems to have been fensible of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant lands only to desoate them; and of converting the Indians to Christianity by cutting their throats. How many poble qualities, in some of his cotemporaries, vere tarnished by cruelty and rapine, or unhapbily blended with a misguided and frantic zeal or religion, that rendered their possessors still more remorfeless and savage!

Equivel continued in his office but a few ears. He died in his government, and was buied at Sevilla Nueva, a town which he had bunded. He was probably fucceeded by goverors of a far different character, who, it is to be ared, foon began to spread among the wretched atives the fame horrible carnage that was now efolating Hispaniola. It appears that Francis e Garay held the chief command in 1523, fince that year he fitted out an expedition from this and for the conquest of Panuco, a territory hich Cortes, unknown to Garay, had already nnexed to the Spanish dominion. In this exedition were employed nine ships and two briantines, and there were embarked in it 850 Spalards, and a confiderable body of Jamaica Inlans, and 144 horses. Such a force, if collected hiefly within the island, proves that a great proress had been made in its settlement and popution during the thirteen years that the Spalards had been in possession of it. As Esquivel

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BOOK had established the seat of government near to the fpot which had been honoured by the refidence of Columbus after his shipwreck in 1503, it may be prefumed that the town of Sevilla Nueva was now become of fome confideration. This town, as we are informed by Herrera was founded on the scite of an ancient Indian village, called Maima \*, and near to the por named by Columbus-Santa Gloria (now St. Ann's Harbour) and the daily accession of new inhabitants would naturally extend the boundaries of the capital, till the rude village, confifting at first of a few temporary huts, must have increased to a place of importance. Religion too, in all the Spanish territories, very foon forced architecture into her fervice; for, by a lamentable inconfiftency in the human mind, these destroyers of their fellow creatures were wonderfully exact in the observance of all the outward ceremonies of divine worthip. With hands yet reeking in the blood of murdered innocence, they could erect temples to the Almighty, and implore that mercy from Heaven, which they had just denied to the miferable victims of their cruelty and rapine Among other coffly buildings a cathedral and monastery were defigned, and the foundations of both were visible not long ago, as many of the ruins are at this day. Peter Martyr of Angleria, the author of the Decades, being appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as

<sup>\*</sup> Quasi Mamer. There is a bay a little to the eastward which is called at this hour Mamee Bay. The ground on which Sevilla Nueva was built, is now chiefly the property of Mr. Heming, who has a large sugar plantation thereon. It is called Seville Plantation; and the ruins of the ancient town are still visible in some of the cane-fields.

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well as of the cathedral, were inspected by CHAP. loane, in 1688, who relates, that a pavement was discovered at the distance of two miles from he church; a circumstance that may give us ome idea of the extent of the city in the days of its prosperity. The west gate of the catheiral flood entire in 1688, and displayed, in he judgment of Sloane, very excellent workmanship; but it was his opinion that the buildng was never compleated; for he observed feveral arched stones that must have been deigned for it, which apparently had never been but up \*. He likewise discovered, in the same ondition, materials for a capital mansion, proably intended for the palace of the governor. from these circumstances, the tradition which fill prevails in the island, that the Spanish inhabitants of Seville were at some period, in heir wars with the natives, entirely and fudtenly cut off, is probably founded in truth. loane, indeed, relates that some of the Spanish planters, who had retired to Cuba, assigned very different reasons for the desertion of this part of the country, alledging, that a vifitation of anumerable ants, had destroyed all their provision grounds, and that the situation of the apital was ill adapted for the purposes of their Vol. I. commerce.

Over the door (of the west gate) was a carving of our Saviour's head with a crown of thorns between two angels; on the right side a small round sigure of some saint, with a sinfe stuck into his head. On the left a Virgin Mary or Mado-ia, her arm tied in three places, Spanish sashion. Over the sate, under a coat of arms, this inscription.

Petrus, Martir. Ab. Angleria. Italus. Civis Mediolanen. Prothon. Apos. Hujus. Infule. Abbas. Senatus. Indici. Confiliarius. Ligneam. Primus. Ædem. Hanc. Bis. Igne. Confumptam. Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide. Primus. A. Fundamentis. Etruxit."

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BOOK commerce. These reasons might possibly have operated against the re-establishment of the place: but were not, I think, of fufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, fuddenly to remove their families and effects, and voluntarily fubmit to the labour of building an entire new town, in a very distant and wholly uncultivated part of the country. It is certain that the town of Seville was not fuffered to fall gradually to decay; but was depopulated while it was yet in an unfinished state, many years before the conquest of the Island by the English \*. Neither (if this tradition of the catastrophe were true) could a just account be expected from the defcendants of men, who defervedly brought destruction on themselves; fince the recital of their fate would again have brought the deeds also of their ancestors to remembrance, and they were deeds of darkness, too mournful to contemplate, too dreadful to be told!

Both ancient tradition, and recent discoveries give too much room to believe that the work of destruction proceeded not less rapidly in this Island, after Esquivel's death, than in Hispaniola; for to this day caves are frequently discovered in the mountains, wherein the ground covered, almost entirely, with human bones; the miserable remains, without all doubt, of some of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in

<sup>\*</sup> See the account of Jamaica transmitted to Cromwell by general Venables, preserved in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 545. wherein he speaks of Seville as a town that had existed in times pass. And Sloane relates that when the English took the island, the ruins of this city were overgrown with wood and turned black with age. He saw timber trees growing within the walls of the cathedral, upwards of fixty feet in height. Sloane Hist. Jamaica, vol. 1. p. 66.

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those recesses, were probably reduced to the sad CHAP. alternative of perishing with hunger, or of bleeding under the fwords of their merciles invaders \*! When therefore we are told of the fate of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is impossible to feel any other emotion than an indignant wish that the story were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the poor Indians in the fame moment to have extirpated their oppressors altogether! But unhappily this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was foon loft in everlasting darkness, fince it pleased the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a fingle descendant, of either sex, being alive when the English took the island in 1655, nor, I believe, for a century before t.

The loss of Seville was probably followed by that of Melilla, a small village situated about eleven leagues to the eastward, (some say at the harbour now called Port Maria) and the catastrophe which attended these places is supposed to have caused the establishment of the capital of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called,

Spanish Town.

Of the precise æra of these events, it is now perhaps useless to inquire; but if conjecture may

\* It is discovered by the skulls, which are preternaturally compressed, that these are the skeletons of the Indians.

<sup>†</sup> There is faid to exist on the fouth side of the island of Cuba, at this day, a small remnant of the ancient Indians. They reside in a little town near St. Jago de Cuba, called Iwanee, and have adopted the manners and language of the Spaniards.

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II. mediately after the departure of the force under Garay; and if the new capital was really founded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which there feems no good reason to dispute, the conjecture is strongly confirmed; for he embarked for Spain in discontent in 1517, returned to his government with fuller powers in 1520, and died in his native country in the latter end of 1525 or the beginning of 1526; and it was certainly after his arrival the last time in Hispaniola, that he laid, or caused to be laid, the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega.

The new city encreased rapidly, and in 1545 (twenty years after the death of its founder) it had the honour of giving the title of Marquis to his son and heir, who received at the same time from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the whole island in perpetual sovereignty, as an

hereditary fief of the crown of Castile.

As this is an important circumstance in the history of this island, and seems not to have been perfectly understood by any of the English historians who have treated of the affairs of Jamaica, I presume that a more copious deduction and explanation of it, will not be un-

acceptable.

Diego Columbus left iffue three fons and two daughters. His eldest fon, Don Lewis, succeeded to his father's honours and extensive claims. Of the daughters, the eldest, Isabella, afterwards intermarried with the count de Gelvez, a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza. Lewis Columbus was an infant of six years of age on the death of his father; but was generally considered as hereditary vice-roy, and high admiral of the West Indies. The emperor however, though he treated him with singular distinction,

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ifn, tinction, and confiderably augmented his reve- CHAP. nues, as he grew to manhood, absolutely refused to admit his claim to fuch extensive authority, and Lewis, as his minority expired, instituted, after his father's example, a legal process for the recovery of his birthright. It does not appear that his fuit ever came to a legal iffue; for, in the year 1545, he found it prudent to accede to a compromife with the emperor, whereby he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, for a grant of the province of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, with the title of duke de Veragua and marquis de la Vega. What might have been the precise extent and nature of this grant, we have not information sufficient to enable us to judge. Whatever it was, he left no iffue to enjoy it; and his brothers also dying without male issue, his fifter Isabella, wife of the count de Gelvez, became fole heiress of the Columbus family, and conveyed by her marriage all her rights to the house of Braganza, where they continued, I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in consequence of the revolution which placed John duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

Sir Hans Sloane therefore, in afferting that a duke de Veragua enjoyed a yearly revenue from Jamaica, at the time the island surrendered to the English in 1655, must have been misinformed; as he clearly is in supposing that the family of Columbus were at that time proprietors of the island, and had so continued from the days of

Ferdinand and Habella,

But there is a circumstance recorded by Blome, and confirmed by the state papers of Thurloe, for which the relation I have given sufficiently accounts. I mean the establishment in Jamaica

of

BOOK of many Portuguese families. The transfer of II. Isabella's inheritance to the house of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portuguese to fix their fortunes in the newly acquired colony, and it is equally probable that the same event would excite jealousy in the old Spanish fettlers towards their new visitors. Blome adds

that the Portuguese were abhorred.

Such mutual diffrust of and irreconcileable aversion among the inhabitants towards each other, was perhaps the cause that Sir Anthony Shirley met with fo little refistance when he invaded the island in 1596, and plundered the capital. About forty years afterwards it was again invaded by a force from the Windward Islands under colonel Jackson. It is said however that on this occasion the inhabitants behaved with great gallantry in a pitched battle at Passage Fort; but being overpowered, Jack fon, after lofing forty men, entered St. Jago de la Vega fword in hand, and, having pillaged it of every thing valuable, received a confiderable ranfom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption.

From this period, until the capture of the island by the English in 1655, during the usurpation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its concerns, nor perhaps were they productive of any event deserving remembrance. I shall therefore proceed in the next chapter, to the consideration of the Protector's motives for attacking the territories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace subsisted between the two nations; which I conceive have hitherto been greatly misunderstood, or wilfully misrepresented, by historians

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### CHAP, II.

cromwell vindicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.—Proposals offered by Modyford and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.

THERE is no portion of the English annals, in the perusal of which greater caution is requisite than the history of the administration of the protector Cromwell. The prejudices of party, which in common cases are lost in the current of time, have floated down to us in full strength against this prosperous usurper; and his actions, from the period that he reached the summit of power, are still scrutinized with industrious malignity, as if it were impossible that authority irregularly acquired, could be exercised with justice.

It is not strange therefore that the vigorous proceedings of the protector against the Spanish nation, in 1655, should have been obnoxious to censure, or that writers of very opposite political principles should concur in misrepresenting his conduct on that occasion. The celebrated semale republican \* terms it "dishonourable and piratical," and the courtly and elegant apologist

Mrs. Macauley's History of England.

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BOOK of the Stewart family\*, pronounces it a most

unwarrantable violation of treaty.

The publication of the state papers of Thur. loe (the Secretary) ought, however, to have mitigated this weight of cenfure. In truth, it will be found that nothing but a most difingenuious concealment of the hostile proceedings of the Spaniards, too gross to be palliated, towards the fubjects of England, can give even the colour of plausibility to the charge which has been brought against Cromwell, of having commenced an unjust and ruinous war, against a friend and ally, contrary to the interest of the nation, and in violation of the faith of treaties. If the power which is vested in the executive magistrate, by whatever name he be distinguished, be held for the protection and fecurity of the religion, liberties and properties of the people under his government, the measures adopted by the protector on that occasion were not merely justifiable; they were highly necessary, and even meritorious; for the conduct of Spain, especially in America, was the declaration and exercise of war against the whole human race. I shall adduce a few remarkable facts to support this affertion. The subject is curious in itself, and, in some respects, will be new to the reader.

The latest treaty which had been made between England and Spain, previous to the assumption of the protectorate by Cromwell, was concluded in the year 1630; by the first article of which it was stipulated, that there should be peace, amity, and friendship between the two crowns and their respective subjects in all parts of the world. Before this period, the sovereigns

<sup>\*</sup> David Hume-History of Great Britain.

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of Spain had not only encouraged, but openly CHAP. avowed, the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe, that were or might be found in any part of the new hemisphere; arrogantly assuming to themselves a right not only to all the territories which their own subjects had discovered there, but claiming also the sole and exclusive privilege of navigating the American seas\*.

Pretensions so exorbitant, which violated alike the laws of nature and nations, were resisted by every maritime state that selt itself concerned in the issue: by the English particularly, who had already planted colonies in Virginia, Bermudas,

St.

\* In the reign of James I. within two years after the conclusion of a peace between England and Spain, which aved the Spanish monarchy from absolute destruction, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter dated from Madrid in May 606, informs the Earl of Salisbury that Don Lewis Firardo, Spanish admiral, having met with certain English ships aden with corn and bound to Seville, " took the masters, nd first set their necks in the stocks. He afterwards removthem into his own ship, and there with his own hands did s much to their legs; reviling them, and calling them hereics, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Christ, threatening to ang them; and in conclusion robbed them of what he thought See Winwood, vol. ii. p. 143.—It appears by fubleuent letters preserved in the same collection, that Cornwall's omplaining to the Duke of Lerma, the minister of Spain, Firardo's conduct, particularly in fending to the gallies ome English mariners whom he had made prisoners in the West Indies, was told by that minister " that Firardo should e called to account, not (adds the Duke) for fending the nen to the gallies, but for not baving banged them up, as he ght to have done." Sir Walter Raleigh, some time afterards, in a letter to king James, speaks of it as a well-known et, that the Spaniards, in another instance, had murdered Wenty-fix Englishmen, tying them back to back and then utting their throats, even after they had traded with them a hole month, and when the English went ashore in full condence, and without so much as one sword among them. See aleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 376.

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BOOK St. Christopher's and Barbadoes; territories some of which Spain had not even discovered, and none of which had she ever occupied. Thus actual war, and war in all its horrors, prevailed between the subjects of Spain in the new world and those of the several other nations who ventured thither, while at the same time, peace apparently subsisted between the parent states in

Europe.

To fecure to the English an uninterrupted intercourse with their settlements above mentioned was one great object of the treaty of 1630. h feems indeed to have been more immediately founded on a remarkable instance of Spanish perfidy, which had recently happened in the island of St. Christopher; for the court of Spain having towards the latter end of the year 1629 fitted out ? fleet of twenty-four ships of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederic de Toledo, ostensibly to attack the Dutch fettlement in Brafil, fecretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the first place to the island I have mentioned (which, although the Spaniards had indeed first discovered it 130 year before, they had never once occupied) and rou out from thence both the English and French who at that time held a joint and peaceable pol

Neither the French, nor English, nor both together, were strong enough to oppose such The French planters took refug an enemy. in the neighbouring island of Antego, and the English sled to the mountains; from whence they fent deputies to treat for a furrender; bu the haughty Spaniard required and obtained un conditional fubmission; and, having selected on of the English settlers six hundred of the able men, whom he condemned to the mines, h ordere

ordered all the rest (confisting chiefly of women CHAP. and children) instantly to quit the island, in some English vessels which he had seized at Nevis, under pain of death. He then laid waste all the fettlements within his reach, and, having reduced the country to a defart, proceeded on his voyage.

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It might be supposed that the treaty of 1630, prevented fuch enormities in future; but, in violation of all that is folemn and facred among Christian states, and to the disgrace of human nature, the Spaniards, eight years only after the affair of St. Christopher's attacked a small English colony which had taken possession of the little unoccupied Island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the fword: hey even hanged up fuch as came in and furrendered themselves, on the promise of mercy, after the first attack.

The unhappy monarch at that time on the hrone of England, was too deeply engaged in contests with his subjects at home, to be able o afford protection to his colonists abroad; and those contests terminating at length in a civil war, the Spaniards proceeded in the fame career with impunity; treating all the British subjects, whom they found in the West Indies, as intruders and pirates. In the year 1635, the English and Dutch had jointly taken possession of Santa Cruz, which at that time was wholly inpeopled and deferted. Disputes arising beween the new fettlers, the English took arms and became fole masters of the Island. In 1650 the Spaniards landed there, and, without the mallest provocation, exterminated every inhatant that fell into their hands, murdering, as Tortuga, even the women and children. As usual with this revengeful nation, they conquer-

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BOOK ed but to desolate; for, having destroyed all the people they could seize, they laid waste and then deserted the Island, and when some of the Dutch nation, in consequence of such desertion, took possession a second time, the Spaniards returned and treated them as they had treated

the English.

Of their cruelties towards the subjects of foreign states, even such as were forced on their coasts in distress, the instances were without number. Their treatment of the sailors was as barbarous and inhuman, as their pretences for seizing them were commonly groundless and unjust. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if, in some few instances, they forbore to instict immediate death on their prisoners, they sentenced them to a worse punishment; condemning them to work in the mines of Mexico for life\*.

It is evident, from the schemes and propofals for attacking the Spaniards, which were prefented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate,

\* The Spaniards, after the death of Cromwell, revived these practices, and continued them to our own times. About the year 1680, they landed on the Island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, and totally destroyed the English settlement there. The governor (Mr. Clark) they took with them to Cuba, in irons, and put him to death by torture. Oldmixon, who wrote "The British empire in America," was informed by Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's fuccessors, that the Spaniards roafted Clark on a spit. The insolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many persons now living; and perhaps there are those alive who were present when Captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the house of commons, which it would be thought might have animated every British heart to insist on exemplary vengeance The case was this: - A Spanish commander, after rummaging this man's vessel for what he called contraband goods, without finding

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teflorate, that the English, in general, had a deep CHAP. and just sense of the wrongs which they sustained from the bigotry, avarice and cruelty of the Spanish nation .- We may furely conclude that applications of fuch a nature could not have been made to the supreme executive magistrate, without any pretence of injury received. To fuppose that a body of the subjects of any civilized fate, or that even any individual of found mind, would introduce into the national councils, and presume to solicit a violation of the public faith, and the commencement of hostilities towards a powerful state and an ally, without any provocation, is to suppose a case which I believe never did occur in history, and which indeed it feems next to impossible should happen. Among other persons who presented memorials on this occafon, we find the names of Colonel Modyford and Thomas Gage. The former was one of the arlieft and most enterprising planters of Barbatoes; and Gage had refided twelve years in New spain in priest's orders. He was brother of Sir tenry Gage, one of the Generals under Charles \* and appears to have been a man of capaciy and extensive observation.

In

inding any, put Jenkins to the torture, and afterwards, inhout the smallest provocation, cut off one of his ears, ding him to carry it to the king of England his master. Jenkins had preserved the ear in a bottle, which he implayed to the House of Commons. Being asked by one of members, what he thought or expected while in the hands such a barbarian? "I recommended (he replied) my soul God, and my cause to my country." The court members, he were averse to a war with Spain, hung down their heads, as some of them sneaked out of the house.

See Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 414.

This Sir Henry Gage was killed at the battle of the late Geral Gage, by whom I was favoured with this account of lomas Gage.

BOOK In his memorial, which is preserved among the II. State papers of Thurloe, he enters fully into a justi.

fication of the measures which he recommends. " None in conscience (he observes) may better attempt fuch an expulsion of the Spaniards from those parts, than the English, who have been of. ten expelled by them from our plantations; as from St. Christopher's, St. Martin's, from Providence and from Tortugas, where the English were inhumanly and most barbarously treated by the Spaniards, who to this day watch for their best advantage to cast us out of all our plantations, and fay that all the islands as well as the main belong to them. And in confcience it is lawful to cast that enemy or troublesome neigh bour out of his dominions, that would, and hat attempted to cast us out of ours."-He then pro ceeds to demonstrate that it is not a work of dif ficulty to dislodge the Spaniards from some of their most valuable possessions, and recommend the first attack to be made on Hispaniola or Cuba the former, he observes, "was the Spaniards' fir plantation, and therefore it would be to them bad omen to begin to lose that, which they fir enjoyed." "This island (he adds) is not on quarter of it inhabited, and so the more easy t take."-Gage, fome years before, had published a book, which is now before me; entitled ". new furvey of the West Indies." It contain much curious information respecting the state Spanish America, at the time that he reside there. In the dedication to Fairfax, General the parliament's forces, he combats, with gre ftrength of reasoning, the pretentions of the Sp nish Crown to an exclusive right to the countri of the New World: "I know of no title," he ol ferves, "that the Spaniard hath (the Pope's don "tion excepted) but force, which by the fan

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title may be repelled .- And as to the first dif- CHAP. " covery, to me it feems as little reason, that the " failing of a Spanish ship upon the coast of In-" dia, should entitle the king of Spain to that " country, as the failing of an Indian or English " ship upon the coast of Spain, should entitle ei-" ther the Indians or English unto the dominion "thereof. No question but the just right or ti-"tle to those countries, appertains to the na-" tives themselves; who, if they should willing-" ly and freely invite the English to their pro-" tection, what title foever they have in them, "no doubt but they may legally transfer to " others. But, to end all disputes of this nature, "fince God hath given the earth to the fons of men to inhabit, and that there are many vast countries in those parts not yet inhabited, either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my countrymen, the English, be debarred from making use of that, which God, from all beginning, did ordain for the benefit of mankind?"

Thefe, or fimilar arguments, and a long lift of panish depredations on the subjects of England, made without doubt a deep impression on the aind of Cromwell. It appears indeed that the ourt of Spain, conscious of having merited the everest vengeance, foresaw an impending storm, nd endeavoured to avert it. We are told by hurloe, that Cardenas the ambassador, in a priate audience, congratulated the protector on is elevation to the government, "affuring him fthe true and constant friendship of his master, ther in the condition he then stood, or that if ewould go a step further, and take upon him he crown, his mafter would venture the crown f Spain to defend him in it." These general scourses came afterwards to particular proposiBOOK tions; which Cromwell received with a coldness that alarmed the ambaffador; who then defired that former treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms might be renewed, as the first step to. wards a nearer union. It does not appear that Cromwell had any objection to this proposition. That he fought to involve the nation in an un. provoked and unnecessary war with Spain, or, as Ludlow expresses it, that "he meant to engage those men in distant services, who otherwise were ready to join in any party against him at home," though it has been confidently afferted, has been afferted against clear and substantial evidence. He demanded, it is true, fatisfaction for past, and security against future injuries; and he appointed commissioners to treat with the Spanish ambassador thereupon; with whom feveral conferences were held, chiefly, fays Thurloe, on the right interpretation of the treaty of 1630.—The refult of those conferences, which I shall give in Thurloe's own words, affords fo full and clear a justification of the protector's subsequent proceedings, that no excuse can be offered for those historians by whom this evidence has been wilfully suppressed.

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The chief difficulties (observes Thurloe) were the following, "1st, touching the West Indies," the debate whereof was occasioned upon the first article of the aforesaid treaty of 1639, whereby it is agreed, that there should be peace, amity, and friendship between the two kings and their respective subjects in all parts of the world, as well in Europe as elsewhere Upon this it was shewn, that in contravention of this article, the English were treated by the Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were me in America, though failing to and from their own plantations, and insisted that satisfaction was to be given in this, and a good foundation

of friendship laid in those parts for the future, CHAP.
between their respective subjects (the English there being very considerable, and whose safe ty and interest the government here ought to provide for) or else there could be no solid and lasting peace between the two states in Europe.

"The fecond difference was touching the inquisition, &c.—To these two, Don Alonso was
pleased to answer; that to ask a liberty from
the inquisition, and free failing in the West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes; and that
nothing could be done in those points, but accord-

" ing to the practice of former times.

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"Then it came into debate, before Oliver and his council, with which of these crowns (France or Spain) an alliance was to be chosen. Oliver himself was for a war with Spain, at least in the West Indies, if satisfaction were not given for the past damages, and things well settled for the future. And most of the council went the same way."

From the facts and recital which I have thus given, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only were the first aggressors, but had proceeded to those hostilities against the subjects of England, which are unjustifiable even in a state of actual war; and, although the outrages complained of, were fuch as the most infignificant state in the world would not have tamely submitted to, from the most powerful; yet did Cromwell, in seeking redress, display his regard to justice by his moderation and temper. He demanded, it is true, reparation for past injuries, and security against mture; but he did not order reprilais to be made, until his demand was rejected, and until he was plainly told, that the same hostile line of conduct which the Spaniards had hitherto purfued VOL. I. L towards

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BOOK towards the English in America should be persist.

II. ed in. Now, as Blome well observes, on this occasion, "war must needs be justifiable when

peace is not allowable."

The course of my work would now bring me to an illustration of the protector's measures in consequence of his appeal to force; the equipment of a powerful armament, its miscarriage at Hispaniola, and success at Jamaica; but of all these transactions a very accurate and circumstantial narrative has already been given in the history of Jamaica by Mr. Long; to whose account I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force. Referring the reader, therefore, to that valuable work, for fatisfactory information in thele part culars, I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the state of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions, as it was found by the English forces on its capture in May 1655; observing only, and I mention the circumstance with a re gret in which I am fure the reader will particular pate, that Gage, who planned the expedition embarked with and perished in it!

The whole number of white inhabitants on the island, including women and children, did no exceed fifteen hundred. Penn, in his examination before the protector's council, on the 12th of September 1665, states them at twelve or four teen hundred only, of which he says about hundred men were in arms when the English landed. It is remarkable however that Blome who compiled a short account of Jamaica so early as 1672, avers that the town of St. Jago de la Vega consisted of two thousand houses, two chapels and an abbey. Then must therefore have happened at some period wonderful diminution in the number of the white inhabitants, and the expussion of the Portugues.

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fettlers, as related by this author, appears the CHAP.
more probable. Blome perhaps has given an
exaggerated account of the number of the houses;
but sufficient evidence remained, till within these
few years, of the buildings consecrated to divine
worship, particularly of the two churches and
the abbey.

Of the other principal settlements, the chief appears to have been at Puerto de Caguaya, since named by the English Port Royal; but though it was next in consequence to St. Jago, it was probably nothing more than an inconsiderable hamlet, established for the purpose of some small traffic with the ships bound from Hispaniola to the continent. Its subsequent rise and extensive prosperity, its deplorable wickedness and fatal catastrophe, are circumstances too well known to be repeated \*.

To the westward of Caguaya was the port of Equivel (Puerta de Esquivella) so called, I presume, in honour of the governor of that name. This port seems indeed to have been almost described at the time of the conquest in 1655, the Spaniards giving the preference to Caguaya; but it was still resorted to by the galleons, as a place of shelter during the hurricane months, and, from

The following fingular inscription appears on a tombsone, at Green-Bay, adjoining the Apostles Battery.

#### "DIEU SUR TOUT.

"Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Esq. who departed this life, at Port Royal, the 22d December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier in France, but lest that country for his religion, and came to settle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692, and by the providence of God, was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."

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BOOK its ancient reputation, the English named it Old II. Harbour.

From Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the western point of the island, the sea-coast was chiefly in savanna, abounding in horned cattle; but there does not appear to have been any settlement in all that great extent of country, except a small hamlet called Oristan, of which however the accounts are obscure and contradictory.

Returning eastward, to the north of Port Caguaya was the Hato de Liguany; presenting to the harbour an extensive plain or savanna, covered with cedar and other excellent timber. This part of the country was also abundantly stored with horned cattle and horses, which ran wild in great numbers; and the first employment of the English troops was hunting and slaughtering the cattle, for the sake of the hides and tallow, which soon became an article of export. It was supposed by Sedgewicke, that the soldiers had killed 20,000 in the course of the first four months after their arrival; and as to horses, "they were in such plenty (says Goodson) that we account ed them the vermin of the country \*."

Eastward of Liguany was the Hato, by some called Ayala, by others Yalos, and now wrote Yallahs; a place, saith Venables "which hath much commodity of planting or erecting of sugar engines of water, by reason of two convenient rivers running through it sit for that purpose." Next to Ayala was the Hato called Morant.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Colonel Barry's house all galleried round (now called Cavaliers) was formerly, when the Spaniards possessed the island, the only place in Liguany inhabited; a rich widow had here a sugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the savanna, near 40,000." (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.)—The mountains of Liguany were supposed also to contain mines both of gold and copper.

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This Morante (faith Venables) "is a large and CHAP. plentiful Hato, being four leagues in length, confiling of many small savannas, and has wild cattle and hogs in very great plenty, and ends at the mine, which is at the Cape or Point of Morante itself, by which toward the north is the port Antonio."

Such is the account of Jamaica as transmitted in general Venables's letter to secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June 1655. The reader will perceive that no mention is made of the north side of the island; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly the fact, that it was one entire defert, from east to west, totally uncultivated and uninhabitted.

Of the inland parts, it appears from Sloane, that Guanaboa was famous for its cacao trees, and the low lands of Clarendon for plantations of tobacco.

Upon the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in culivation when the English made themselves mas-Yet the Spanish settlers had no sooner ters of it. enerminated, in the manner we have feen, the original proprietors, than they had recourfe, with their neighbours of Hispaniola, to the introduction of flaves from Africa. We are told that he number of negroes in the island, at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the whites, t is not easy to discover to what useful purpose helabour of these Blacks was applied. The sloth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the Engish landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has fince produced in o great abundance, some were altogether unmown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were sufficient for their own expenditure.

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BOOK expenditure. Their principal export, befides cacao, confifted of hogs-lard and hides. The fale of thefe articles, and fupplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisons, in barter for European manufactures, conflituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the favages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and fuccess. They posfessed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and conveniency of it. They were neither polished by focial intercourse, nor improved by education; but passed their days in gloomy languor, enseebled by floth and depressed by poverty. Having a the same time but little or no connection with Europe, nor the means of Tending their childrep thither for education (a circumstance that might have introduced among them, from time to time, some portion of civility and science) they had been for many years in a state of progressive degeneracy, and would probably, in a short time, have explated the guilt of their ancestors, by falling victims themselves to the vengeance of their flaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and dispositions of all the Spanish Americans. It must however be acknowledged, that if they possessed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unstained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterprising genius; that unconquerable perseverance, that contempt of toil, danger, and death, which fo wonderfully diftinguished the great adventurers, who first explored and added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion; we must own at the fame

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ame time that they were happily free from their CHAP. guilty ambition; their remorfeless fanaticism, and MD.O. fantic cruelty. But, whatever was their characmr, it is impossible to justify the hard terms impoled by the English commanders on the poor fetlers in Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver m their flaves and effects, and quit the country shogether. They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country elfewhere, and they declared that they were resolved to perish in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign foil. This was their final answer to the propositions of Venables. the English General, nor could they be brought gain to enter into any treaty. The refistance they afterwards made against the efforts of our mops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important leffon to conquerors—that even ndory has its limits, and that injustice and grany frequently defeat their own purpofes. the erace; .- New

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court governor for the purpose of enjoying the to official Successful opposition of the on Subjequent alfuites refreching the comme

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BOOK II.

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Proceedings of the English in Jamaica after in capture. Col. D'Oyley declared president .-Discontents and mortality among the army-Vigorous exertions of the Protector .- Col. Brayn appointed commander in chief.—His death.— D'Oyley reassumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba. His wife and fleady administration. -Bucanneers .- Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his restoration. First establishment of a regular government in Jamaica.-Lord Winds for's appointment .- Royal Proclamation .- American treaty in 1670.—Change of measures on the part of the crown.—New constitution devifed for Jamaica .- Earl of Carlifle appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing the new system. - Successful opposition of the assembly.—Subsequent disputes respecting the confirmation of their laws .- Terminated by the revenue act of 1728.

AFTER the capture of the island, until the restoration of Charles II. the English in Jamaica remained under military jurisdiction. Cromwell had nominated Winslow, Serle and Butler to ast as commissioners, with Penn and Venables, intending, I presume, to constitute by this arrangement a council of state, whose authority might mitigate the rigour of the law-martial; but the two generals, with commissioner Butler, returning

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to England without leave; the fole command of CHAP. the army devolved on Major General Fortescue, and of the fleet on Admiral Goodson. Nevertheless it was the intention of Cromwell to have established a civil government in the island on very liberal principles. Soon after he received the account of its capture, he iffued a proclamaion declaratory of that purpose, and on the remm to England of commissioner Butler, he sent over Major Sedgewicke to supply his place. Sedgewicke arrived in Jamaica in October, but Winflow and Serle having in the mean time fillen victims to the climate, he was unwilling to ad under the protector's commission without further affiftance. An instrument of government was thereupon framed, and subscribed, on the eighth of October 1655, by Sedgewicke and the principal officers, who thereby constituted themselves a supreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the island; of which Fortescue was declared president, and he dying foon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was chosen to preside in his room. But the fituation of the troops required martial array, and strict discipline; for the dispossessed Spaniards and fugitive negroes ontinued to harrass the soldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambush. The Spanish blacks had separated themselves from their late masters, and murdered, without mercy, fuch of the English as ambling about the country fell into their hands. They were even fo audacious as to venture by night to attack the English troops in their quarters, and to set fire to some of the houses in which they were lodged, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

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But the protector was determined to maintain BOOK his conquest, and seemed anxiously bent on peopling the island. While recruits were raising in England, he directed the governors of Barba does, and the other British colonies to windward (which at that time were exceedingly populous) to encourage fome of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the affurance of their having lands affigned them there. He dispatched an agent to New England on a fimilar errand, as well as to engage the people of the northern province to furnish provisions to the newly-acquired temtory. He gave instructions to his son Henry Cromwell, who was Major General of the force in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand young persons of both sexes from thence, to be come fetlers in Jamaica; and he advised with the lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh on the best means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the fame purpose from Scotland.

In the mean while the old foldiers within the island, disliking their situation, and conceiving from the preparations of the government at home, that the protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became diffatish ed and feditious. Other causes indeed concurred to awaken among them fuch a spirit of discontent as approached nearly to mutiny. Having at first found in the country, cattle and fwine in great abundance, they had destroyed them with such improvidence and wantonnels of profusion, as to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions in a place which had been represented as abounding in the highest degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes fpoilt by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the foldiers, with great ain

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great earnestness, to cultivate the foil, and raise, CHAP. by their own industry, Indian corn, pulse and caffavi, fufficient for their maintenance. They endeavoured to make them fenable that supplies from England must necessarily be casual and uncertain; and, persuasion failing, they would have compelled them by force to plant the ground; but the fubaltern officers concurred with the private men, absolutely refusing to conribute in the finallest degree to their own preservation by the means recommended. They were possessed of a passionate longing to return n England, and fondly imagined that the contimal great expence of maintaining fo large a body moops at fo great a distance, would induce the of protector to relinquish his conquest. They even noted up the provisions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. " Our foldiers writes Sedgewicke) have destroyed all forts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wherefoever they go. Dig or plant, they meither will nor can, but are determined rather o flarve than work." A fcarcity, approaching o a famine, was at length the confequence of fuch misconduct, and it was accompanied with is usual attendants, disease and contagion. Pertaps there are but few descriptions in history wherein a greater variety of horrors are accumulated than in the letters addressed on his occasion by Sedgewicke and the other principal officers, to the government at home, which are preferved among Thurloe's flate papers. Such was the want of food, that fnakes, trards and other vermin, were eagerly eaten, ogether with unripe fruits and noxious vegetables. This unwholesome diet concurred with other circumstances to produce an epidemic dysentery, which raged like the plague. For a confiderable

BOOK confiderable time 140 men died weekly, and II. Sedgewicke himself at length perished in the

general carnage.

The protector, as foon as he had received information o fthe diffracted and calamitous flate of the colony, exerted himself with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and neces. faries of all kinds were shipped without delay: and Cromwell, diffruftful it is faid of D'Oyley's attachment, superseded him, by granting a com. mission of commander in chief of Jamaica, to Col. Brayne, governor of Lochabar in Scotland. This gentleman, with a fleet of transports, and a reinforcement of one thousand recruits, sailed from Port Patrick, the beginning of October 1656, and arrived at Jamaica in December following. Col. Humphreys with his regiment, confisting of 830 men, had landed, some time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with 1500 persons collected in the Windward islands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an establishment near to the Port of Morant, where some of Stokes's descendants, of the same name, possess at this day considerable property. Another regiment, commanded by Col. Moore, arrived in the beginning of 1657 from Ireland, and fome industrious planters followed foon afterwards from New England and Bermudas.

Brayne's first accounts are very discouraging. He complains that he found all things in the utmost confusion; that violent animosities sub-sisted among the troops; and, above all, that there was a great want of men cordial to the business; such is his expression. He defires a remittance of £.5000, to enable him to erect fortifications, and a further supply of provisions for six months; strenuously recommending, at the same time, a general liberty of trade be-

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But Brayne, though a man of fagacity and penetration, wanted firmness and fortitude. The groops still continued unhealthy, and, fickness foreading rapidly amongst the new comers. Brayne, alarmed for his own fafety, became as little cordial to the business of fettling as the rest. He prayed most earnestly for permission to return in England. In the mean while, by way (as he writes) of precaution against a fever, he weakened himself to a great degree by copious blood-letting; a practice which probably proved fatal to him; for he died at the end of ten months after his arrival. A few days before his death, finding himself in imminent danger, he ant to D'Oyley, and formally transferred his authority to that officer. D'Oyley happily posfelled all those qualifications in which Brayne as deficient; yet he entered on his charge with reluctance; for, having already been roughly superseded by the protector, he expected peraps such another dismission. In the letters which he addressed to Cromwell and Fleetwood, in the event of Brayne's decease, he expresses imself with propriety and dignity. "Your highness," he observes to Cromwell, " is not to etold how difficult it is to command an army ithout pay, and I tremble to think of the difontents I am to struggle withal, until the return f your commands; though I bless God I have he affection of the people here, beyond any hat ever yet commanded them; and a spirit of by own not to fink under the weight of unreamable discontents." To Fleetwood he writes, I would have refused to accept of this command,

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BOOK mand, if I could have quitted with honour and II. faithfulness to my country; but I am now resolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly desire your lordship to effect for me. Ho nours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a soul much above them. Pray, my lord, decline your greatness, and command your secretary to give me an answer; for if were discoved of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman

and a faithful friend to my country."

It was fortunate for his country that his refer nation was not accepted, and that the protector fensible at length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, feconded and for ported by the affection which his foldiers, under all their difficulties and diffresses, manifested of every occasion towards him, we owe at this de the possession of Jamaica; the recapture where by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great nations concern. Its defenceless state, the diffatisfacion of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as t augment their numbers, led the governor Cuba to believe, that the juncture was the arrived for retrieving the honour of his com try, by the restoration of this island to its de minion. Having communicated to the vices of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and n ceived the fanction and support of that office he made preparations for a formidable invalo and appointed Don Christopher Safi Amold who had been governor of Jamaica at the time of its capture, to take the conduct and comman of the enterprize.

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On the eighth of May 1658, thirty companies CHAP. of Spanish infantry landed at Rio Nuevo, a finall harbour on the north fide of the island. They were provided with eight months provision, ordnance and ammunition of all kinds, and they brought engineers and artificers for erecting extensive fortifications. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and fix weeks more intervened by the time that he was ble to approach them by fea. During this inerval, the Spaniards had established themselves in great force; but D'Oyley at length reaching Rio Nuevo, with feven hundred and fifty of his belt-disciplined soldiers, attacked them in their entrenchments; carried by affault a strong forres which they had erected on an eminence over he harbour; and compelled the late unfortunate overhor to get back as he could to Cuba, after heloss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition and colours, and of one half the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have een more decifive; nor does hiftory furnish many instances of greater military skill and inrepidity, than those which were displayed by he English on this occasion.

After so signal a deseat, the Spaniards made to effort of consequence to reclaim Jamaica. A sarty of the ancient Spanish inhabitants, however, still lurked in the woods, and Sasi, their overnor, had returned to share their fortunes; at a body of their sugitive negroes having surendered to D'Oyley on the promise of freedom, hele wretches informed him where their late masters were sheltered; and joined some troops hat were sent in pursuit of them: thus the poor paniards were entirely routed, and the sew that survived, by escaping to Cuba, took their last arewel of a country, their sond attachment to

which

BOOK which, it is not possible to reflect on, without

II. emotions of pity.

By the wife, steady and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising aspect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some successful efforts in raising Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cacao, had given encouragement to a spirit of planting. The arrival of several merchant ships, for the purpose of traffic, contributed still surther to the promotion of industry, and, on the whole, the dawn of suture prosperity

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But, as hath been truly observed by a well-informed author \*, nothing contributed fo much u the fettlement and opulence of this island in early times, as the refort to it of those men called Bu caniers; the wealth which they acquired having been speedily transferred to people whose indus try was employed in cultivation or commerce Of that fingular affociation of adventurers it were to be wished that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given: I wil just observe in this place, that such of thema belonged to Jamaica were not those piratical plus derers and public robbers which they are com monly reprefented. A Spanish war, commenced on the justest grounds on the part of the English still prevailing in the West Indies, they were fur nished with regular letters of marque and repr fal. After the restoration of Charles II. the kin ordered that they should receive every encourage ment and protection; nor, if we may believe S William Beeston +, did his majesty disdain to be come a partner in the bucaniering bufiness.

<sup>\*</sup> European Settlements. † MS. Journal penes me.

is indeed related that he continued to exact and CHAP.
receive a share of the booty, even after he had III.
publicly issued orders for the suppression of this

species of hostility \*.

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People of all professions, and from all parts of the British empire, now resorted to Jamaica. The confusions which overspread England after the death of Cromwell, impelled many to feek for fafety and quiet in the Plantations. Some of those men who had distinguished themselves by their activity in bringing their unhappy monarch to the scaffold, considered this island as a fure place of refuge. Forefeeing, from the temper which began to prevail amongst all ranks of people in England, especially towards the beginning of the year 1660, that the nation was united in its wishes for the re-establishment of the ancient frame of government, they hoped to find that fafety in a colony composed of Cromwell's adherents, which they were apprehenfive would shortly be denied them at home t.

Vol. I. M Margaeles on But

† Some of those men who had sat as judges at the trial of Charles I. are said to have become peaceable settlers here, and to have remained after the Restoration unnoticed and unmobiled. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harrison was earnestly pressed to follow their exam-

The favour extended by the King to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English Bucaniers (a man indeed of an elevated mind and invincible courage) arole doubtless, in a great measure, from the good understanding that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the Earl of Carlisse returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy-governor and lieutenant general in his absence; and, proceeding himself, at a subsequent period, to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knight-hood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope therefore, and indeed have good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no soundation in truth.

BOOK But altho' men of this stamp were filently per. mitted to fix themselves in the island, the ge. neral body both of the army and people caught the reviving flame of loyalty, and fincerely participated in the national triumph on the king's return. The restored monarch, on his part, not only overlooked their past transgressions, but prudently forbore also to awaken their jealous, by enquiring after any of those obnoxious characters to whom they had afforded protection. To conciliate the affections of the colonifia whose valour had annexed so important an appendage to his dominions, the king even confirmed their favourite General in his command: appointing D'Oyley, by a commission which bore date the thirteenth of February 1661, chief governor of the island. He was ordered, at the fathe time, to release the army from military fubordination, to erect courts of judicature, and, with the advice of a council, to be elected by the inhabitants, to pass laws suitable to the exigencies of the colony.

This memorable appointment of General D'Oyley, with a council elected by the people, may be considered as the first establishment of a re-

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ple; but, suitably to his character, he gloried in the ignominious death that awaited him. After his execution, his children fixed their fortunes in this island, where some of his descendants, in the semale line, are still living, in good credit, in the parish of St. Andrew. It is reported also that the remains of President Bradshaw were interred in Jamaica; and I observe in a splendid book, entitled Memoirs of Thomas Holis, an epitaph which is said to have been inscribed on a cannon that was placed on the President's grave; but it is, to my own knowledge, a modern composition. President Bradshaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Westminster abbey. A son of Scott, the Regicide fixed himself in this island, and settled the plantation called Y S in St. Elizabeth. From a daughter of this man was descended the late alderman Beckford.

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gular civil government in Jamaica, after the Eng- CHAP. lish had become masters of it; but, in order to create full confidence of fecurity in the minds of the inhabitants, further measures were necesfary on the part of the fovereign; and they were readily adopted. D'Oyley defiring to be recalled, the lord Windfor was nominated in his room, and directed to publish, on his arrival, a royal and gracious proclamation, wherein, for the purpose of encouraging the fettlement of the country, allotments of land were offered under fuch terms as were usual in other plantations, with such farther convenient and fuitable privileges and immunities, as the grantees should reasonably require. The proclamation then proceeds in the words following :- " And we do further publish " and declare, that all the children of our na-" tural-born fubjects of England, to be born in " amaica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE " BIRTHS, BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL BE, "FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND SHALL "HAVE THE SAME PRIVILEGES, TO ALL IN-"TENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR FREE-BORN " SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and that all free per-" fons shall have liberty, without interruption, " to transport themselves and their families, and " any of their goods (except only coin and bul-" lion) from any of our dominions and territo-" ries to the faid island of Jamaica, &c \*."-M 2 Thefe

\* As the reader may be defirous of feeing this proclamation at large, it is here inferted verbatim.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Decima Septima Pare Patentium de Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Tertio decimo. Car. 2di. 13tio.

A PROCLAMACON, for the encouraging of Planters in his Majesty's island of Jamaica in the West-Indies.

Wzz being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica, being a pleasant and most fertile soyle, and scituate comodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's blessing, to

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BOOK These important declarations have always been II. justly considered, by the inhabitants of Jamaica,

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bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt, for encourageing of our subjects as well such as are already upon the faid ifland, as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and refide and plant there, to declare and publish, and wee doe hereby declare and publish, that thirtie acres of improveable lands shall bee granted and allotted, to every such person, male or female, being twelve years old, or upwards, who now refides, or within two years next enfuing, shall refide upon the faid island, and that the same shall bee affigned and set out by the governor and councell, within fix weekes, next after notice shall be given, in writing, subscribed by such planter or planters, or some of them in behalfe of the rest, to the governor or fuch officer as hee shall appoint in that behalf, signifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place : and in case they doe not goe thither, within fix months then next enfuing, the faid allotment shall be void, and free to bee affigned to any other planter, and that every person and persons to whom such affignment shall bee made, shall hold and enjoy the faid lands, foe to bee affigned, and all houses, edifices, buildings and inclosures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under fuch tenures as is usual in other plantations subject to us. Nevertheleffe they are to be obliged to ferve in arms upon any infurrection, mutiny, or forraine invafion, and that the faid affignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the publique feale of the faid island, with power to create any mannor or mannors, and with fuch convenient and fuitable priveledges and imunities as the grantee shall reasonably defire and require, and a draught of such affigument shall bee prepared by our learned councell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose, and that all fishings and pischaries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coales and all other mines (except gold and filver) within fuch respective allotments shall bee enjoyed by the grantees thereof, referving only a twentieth part of the product of the faid mines And we doe further publish and declare, that all to our uie. children of our naturall borne subjects of England, to bee borne in Jamaica, shall from their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free Denizens of England; and shall have the same priveledges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of England, and that all free per28

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as a folemn recognition and confirmation by the CHAP. crown, of those rights which are inherent in, and unalienable from, the person of a subject of England, and of which, fo long as he preferves his allegiance, emigration for the benefit of the flate cannot, and furely ought not, to divest him. Pursuant to, and in the spirit of the proclamation, the governor was instructed to call an affembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, that they might pass laws for their own internal regulation and government; a privilege, which being enjoyed by fuch of their fellow fubicts as remained within the realm, it is prefumed they had an undoubted right to exercise, with this limitation only, that the laws which they hould pass, were not subversive of their dependance on the parent state \*.

To

fons shall have libertie without interruption, to transport themselves, and their samilies and any their goods (except only coyne and bullion) from any our dominions and territories to the said island of Jamaica. And wee doe strictly charge and command all planters, soldiers and others, upon the said island, to yield obedience to the lawfull commands of our right trusty and welbeloved Thomas Lord Windsor, now our governor of our said island, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our displeasure and such expansives as may be inslicted thereupon. Given at our courte at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December. P'. ipm'. Regem.

This is a true copy of the original record remaining in the Chapple of the Rolls, having been examined by me VERA-COPIA. Henry Rooke, CP of the Rolls.

<sup>\*</sup> His majesty was likewise pleased to favour the island with broad seal with the following arms, viz. a cross gules charged with five pine-apples in a field argent; supporters, two Indians will and condaled; erest, an alligator vivant. The inscription in the orb,

Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem. Nec sterilis est crux.

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BOOK To these several testimonies of royal justice and favour towards the new colonists, may be added the additional fecurity obtained for them by the American treaty, concluded and figned at Ma. drid in the month of June 1670. For, after the restoration, doubts were raised by the partizans of royalty, whether, as the elevation of Cromwell was adjudged an usurpation, the conquests which had been made under the fanction of his authority, could be rightfully maintained by a kingly government? Although nothing could well be more futile than thefe fuggestions, it was nevertheless thought necessary to guard against the conclusions which Spain might deduce from This precaution partly gave rife to the feventh article of the treaty above referred to, which is conceived in the words following, viz. " The king of Great Britain, his heirs and fuc-"ceffors, shall have, hold and possess, for ever, " with full right of fovereign dominion, pro-" perty and possession, all lands, countries, if " lands, colonies and dominions whatever, fitte " ated in the West Indies, or any part of Amen " ca, which the faid king of Great Britain and " his fubjects, do, at this prefent, hold and pol " fefs; fo that in regard thereof, or upon any " colour or pretence whatever, nothing may of " ought ever to be urged, nor any question of " controverfy moved concerning the same here " after \*."

Hitherto, it must be admitted that the love reign authority was properly exerted in defend of the just rights of the crown, and in fecuring to

<sup>\*</sup> From this recital may be feen the folly of a very prevaled notion, namely, That the fovereigns of Spain, or fome their subjects, still keep up pretentions to Jamaica, or class property therein, as not having been formally ceded to u crown of England.

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its distant subjects the enjoyment of their posses. CHAP. fions; but unhappily Charles II. was a monarch without steadiness, and a man without integrity. His general conduct was founded in motives of selfishness and deception. About the period of the American treaty, a scheme having been formed by him or his ministry for subverting the liberties of the people at home, it is the lefs wonderful, that the privileges enjoyed by the colonifts abroad, should have been regarded by the king with a jealoufy, which encreasing with the encrease of their numbers, broke out at length into acts of open hostility and violence towards them.

In the beginning of 1678, the storm fell on 124 maica. A new system of legislation was adopted for this island, founded nearly on the model of the Irish constitution under Poynings's act; and the Earl of Carlifle was appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing it. ' A body of laws was prepared by the privy council of England, among the rest a bill for settling a perpetual reveaue on the crown, which his lordship was directed to offer to the affembly; requiring them to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration. In future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be fuggefted in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty to be approved or rejected at home; on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great feal in the shape of laws, and passed by the general aslembly; which was to be convened for no other purpose than that, and the business of voting the usual supplies; unless in consequence of special orders from England.

If we only reflect on the distance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without hefi-

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BOOK tation, that it was impossible for the colony to exist under such a constitution and system of go. vernment. What misconduct on the part of the inhabitants, or what fecret expectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to determine. The most probable opinion is this .- In the year 1661 the affembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on, by very unjustifiable means, as will hereafter be fhewn, to grant an internal revenue to the crown. of 42 per cent; on the gross produce of that island for ever, It is not unlikely that the steady refufal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themselves and their posterity with a similar imposition, exciting the refentment of the king, first suggested the idea of depriving them of those constitutional franchifes which alone could give fecurity and value to their possessions. Happily for the present inhabitants, neither fecret intrigue por undilguised violence were successful. Their gallant ancestors transmitted to their posterity their eltates unincumbered with fuch a tax, and their political rights unimpaired by the system of government attempted to be forced on them. "The affembly (fays Mr. Long, rejected the new constitution with indignation. No threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments perfuade them to confent to laws that would enflave their posterity." Let me add, as a tribute of just acknowledgment to the noble efforts of this gentleman's great ancestor, Colonel Long, that it was to him, Jamaica was principally indebted for its deliverance. As chief judge of the island, and member of the council, he exerted on this important occasion, the powers with which he was invested, with such ability and fortitude, in defence of the people, as to baffle and finally overpower every effort to enflave them The 0-

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The governor, after dismissing him from the posts CHAP. which he had filled with fuch honour to himfelf, and advantage to the public, conveyed him a fate prisoner to England. These despotic meafures were ultimately productive of good. Col. Long, being heard before the king and privy council, pointed out with fuch force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures which had been purfued, that the English ministry reluctantly Submitted. The affembly had their deliberative powers restored to them, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who had prefided in the island as lieutenant governor from 1670 to 1674, very much to the fatisfaction of the inhabitants, was appointed capain general and chief governor in the room of Lord Carlifle \*.

It might have been hoped that all possible cause of future contest with the crown, on the question of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the affembly had recovered the inestimable privilege of framing such laws or their internal government as their exigencies might require, of which doubtless themselves lone were competent to judge, and although it was not alledged that the laws which they had palled, as well before, as after the re-establishment of their rights, were repugnant to those of he mother country, yet the royal confirmation of a great part of them had been constantly refusd, and still continued to be withheld. It was adeed admitted, that the English who captured

I have subjoined, as an appendix to this book, "an Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," by a see Chief Governor of distinguished abilities, wherein the uniculars of Lord Carlisse's administration are detailed at trge.—This historical account is now published for the first me, and cannot fail of proving extremely acceptable to the ader.

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BOOK the island, carried with them as their birth-right. the law of England as it then stood; but much of the English law was inapplicable to the fituation and condition of the new colonists; and it was contended that they had no right to any flature of the British parliament, which had passed subfequent to their emigration, unless its provisions were specially extended to the colony by name. The courts of judicature within the island, had however, from necessity, admitted many such flatutes to be pleaded, and grounded feveral judgments and important determinations upon them; and the affembly had paffed bills adopting several of the English statutes which did not otherwise bind the island; but several of these bills, when fent home for the royal confirmation, and those judgments and determinations of the courts of law, when brought by appeal before the king and council, though not disallowed, re mained unconfirmed; and in this unfettled flate the affairs of Jamaica were suffered to remain for the space of fifty years.

The true cause of such inflexibility on the part of the crown, was no other than the old flory of revenue. For the purpose, as it was pretended of defraying the expence of erecting and repair ing fortifications, and for answering some other public contingencies, the ministers of Charles I had procured, as hath been observed, from the affembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the other British West Indian colonies, the gran of a perpetual internal revenue. The refusal Jamaica, to concur in a fimilar establishment, th punishment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have been already fa ed; but it was found that the lenity of the crow in relinquishing the fystem of compulsion, w expected to produce the effect which oppression ght,

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had failed to accomplish. The English government claimed a return from the people of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppressive and permicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon them a positive and permanent benefit; a claim which all the British ministers, from the restoration of King Charles to the reign of George II. very cordially justified.

The affembly however remained unconvinced. Among other objections, they pleaded that the money granted by the Island of Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and they demanded some pledge or security against a fimilar misapplication; in case they hould subject their country to a permanent and irrevocable tax. The ministers refused to give any fatisfaction in this particular; and finding the affembly were equally resolute to pass their supply bills from year to year only, as usual, advised the sovereign, from a spirit of vindictive policy, to wave the confirmation of the laws, and to fuffer the administration of justice in the island, to remain on the precarious footing that I have described.

Such was the actual fituation of Jamaica until the year 1728, when a compromife was happily effected. In that year the affembly confented to fettle on the crown a standing irrevocable revenue of £ 8,000 per annum, on certain conditions, to which the crown agreed, and of which the following are the principal:

Ist. That the quit-rents arising within the island (then estimated at £. 1,460 per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws should receive the toyal affent. And, 3dly. That "all such laws" and statutes of England, as had been at any

" time

BOOK "time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or II. "received, as laws in the island, should be and "continue laws of Jamaica for ever." The revenue act, with this important declaration there in, was accordingly passed, and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a contest no less disgraceful to the government at home, than injuri-

ous to the people within the island.

I have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the subject would admit, to trace the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity; but although its parentage and principles are British, its outward form has been modified and regulated by various unforeseen events, and local circumstances. In its present appearance, and actual exercise, however, it so nearly resembles the system of government in the other British West Indian islands, that one general description (which I reserve for a subsequent part of my work) will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of local occurrences and internal politics, would not, I presume, be interesting to the general reader\*.

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\* In the year 1687 Christopher Duke of Albermarle was appointed chief governor of Jamaica. This nobleman waster only surviving son and heir of general Monk, who had restorted Charles II. and I mention him principally as exhibiting a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. The father had been gratistied with the highest rewards that a sovereign could bestow on a subject; a dukedom, the garter, and a princely fortune; and the son, reduced to beggary by vice and extravagance, was driven to the necessity of imploring break from James II. The king, to be freed from his importunities, gave him the government of Jamaica; where, dying childless, a short time after his arrival, his honours were extinguished with his life. The noble Duke lived long enough however to collect a considerable sum of money for his creditors; for entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish Plate ship, which had been stranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north-east of Hispaniola.

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Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with CHAP. faiful divers, to fearch for the hidden treasure, and are faid to have actually recovered twenty-fix tons of filver. The conduct of this noble governor on his arrival, affords many curious inftances of the arbitrary principles of the times; mong others, the following is not the least remarkable. Having called an affembly, his grace diffolved them abrupy, because one of the members, in a debate, repeated the old dage, falus populi suprema lex. His grace afterwards took the sember into cuttody, and caused him to be fined £.600 for his offence. With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish pastor, sent out by James II. to conen the island to popery; but his grace's death, and the revouion in 1688, blatted the good father's project. The Duchess accompanied her husband; a circumstance which the beaker of the affembly in his first address expatiated upon hich the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never tive at, and even Columbus's ghost would be appeased for all the signific he endured of the Spaniards, could be but know that his m beloved foil was hallowed by fuch footfleps!" Their Honours the Council could not have gone farther.

In the month of June 1692, happened that tremendous anhquake which swallowed up great part of Port Royal. A emption of it, dreadfully minute, may be found in the hilosophical Transactions; but it is not generally known at the town was chiefly built on a bank of fand, adhering a mock in the fea, and that a very flight concustion, aided the weight of the buildings, would probably have accom-inedits destruction. I am inclined therefore to suspect that the impion of the shock is much exaggerated. The inhabias were scarcely recovered from the terrors occasioned by earthquake, when they were alarmed with an account of intended invasion by an armament from Hispaniola, comanded by Monf. Du Casse, the governor of that island, in mon. Accordingly, on the 17th of June 1694, a fleet of me men of war and twenty privateers (having on board soo land forces) appeared off Cow Bay, where eight hund of the foldiers were landed, with orders to defolate the entry as far as Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed ir instructions to the full extent.—They not only set fire ttery settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers cold blood, after making them behold the violation of it wives by their own negroes. Such at least is the account minitted by Sir William Beefton, the governor, to the fetary of state. Unfortunately, the militia of this part of

BOOK the country had been drawn off to guard the capital; whereby the French continued their ravages without refistance, and having fet fire to ail the plantations within their reach, and feized about one thousand negroes, Du Caffe sailed to letward, and anchored in Carlifle Bay, in the parish of Vere This place had no other fortification than an ill contrive breast-work, manned by a detachment of two hundred men from the militia of St. Elizabeths and Clarendon, which De Caffe attacked with all his force. The English made a gallant refiftance; but Colonel Cleyborn, Lieutenant Colone Smart, Captain Vaffal, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed and many others dangeroully wounded, they were compelled to retreat. Happily, at this moment, arrived five companies of militia, which they governor had fent to their affifiance from Spanish-town. These, though they had marched thing miles without refreshment, immediately charged the enemy with fuch vigour, as entirely to change the fortune of the day, The French retreated to their ships, and Du Casse soon after-

wards returned to Hispaniola with his ill-gotten booty.

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## CHAP. IV.

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Situation.—-Climate.—Face of the Country.—
Mountains, and advantages derived from them.
—Soil.—Lands in Culture.—Lands uncultivated, and observations thereon.—Woods and Timbers.—Rivers and Medicinal Springs.—
Ores.—Vegetable Classes.—Grain.—Grasses.—
Kitchen-garden produce, and Fruits for the Table, &c. &c.

AMAICA is fituated in the Atlantic Ocean, about four thousand miles south-west of England. It has the island of Hispaniola, at the distance of thirty leagues, to the east: The Island of Cuba, about the same distance, to the north: The Gulph of Honduras to the west; and Carbagena, on the great continent of South America, to the South, distant one hundred and forty-ive leagues.

The center of Jamaica lies in about 18° 12', north latitude, and in longitude about 76° 45' well from London. From these data the geographical reader will perceive that the climate, alhough tempered and greatly mitigated by varilias causes, some of which will be presently explained, is extremely hot, with little variation from January to December; that the days and lights are nearly of equal duration; there being the more than two hours difference between the longest day and the shortest; that there is any little twilight; and finally, that when it is

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BOOK twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about

feven in the morning in Jamaica.

The general appearance of the country dif. fers greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the north and fouth fides of the island, which are separated by a vast chain of mountains extend. ing from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern fide; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Anne, was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the profped. The whole of the scenery is indeed superlatively fine, nor can words alone (at least any that I can felect) convey a just idea of it. A few leading particulars I may perhaps be able to point out, but their combinations are infinitely various, and to be understood must be feen.

The country at a small distance from the shore rifes into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness; being all of gentle ac clivity, and commonly separated from each other by fpacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are feldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the vallies often times abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with fin gular felicity. The most striking circumstance attending these beautiful swells are the happy disposition of the groves of pimento, with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the confummate verdure of the turf underneath which is discoverable in a thousand openings presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tint of the pimento. As this tree, which is no le remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, fuffers " rival plant to flourish within its shade, the grove

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groves are not only clear of underwood, but CHAP. even the grafs beneath is feldom luxuriant. The foil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a close and clean turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful furface the pimento fpreads itself in various compartments. In one place, we behold extensive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, some of which crown the hills, while others are scattered down the declivities. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. part of the West Indies, that I have feen, abounds with fo many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In me point of view, where the rocks overhang the kean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls re beheld in the fame moment. Those only who have been long at fea, can judge of the motion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at fo inchanting a prospect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As he land rifes towards the centre of the island, he eye, passing over the beauties that I have reounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre

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Insuperable height of lostiest shade, Cedar; and branching palm:

In immensity of forest; the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again the lost in the clouds.

On the fouthern fide of the island, the sceney, as I have before observed, is of a different sature. In the landscape we have treated of, he prevailing characteristics are variety and cauty: in that which remains, the predominant Vol. I.

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BOOK features are grandeur and fublimity, When I first approached this side of the island by sea, and beheld, from afar, such of the stupendous and foaring ridges of the blue mountains, as the clouds here and there disclosed, the imagination (forming an indiffinct but awful idea of what was concealed, by what was thus partially displayed) wa filled with admiration and wonder. Yet the leafation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the prospect before me was in the highest degree magnificent, it seems a fcene of magnificent defolation. The abrup precipice and inaccessible cliff, had more the aspect of a chaos than a creation; or rather seen ed to exhibit the effects of some dreadful convol fion, which had laid nature in ruins. Appear ances however improved as we approached; in amidst ten thousand bold features, too hard tob foftened by culture, many a spot was soon dil covered where the hand of industry had awaken ed life and fertility. With these pleasing into mixtures, the flowing line of the lower ranges mountains (which now began to be visible, crown ed with woods of majestic growth) combined foften and relieve the rude folemnity of the lo tier eminences; till at length the favannas at the These are vast plain bottom met the fight. clothed chiefly with extensive cane fields; dil playing, in all the pride of cultivation, the ver dure of fpring blended with the exuberance of an tumn, and bounded only by the ocean; on who bosom a new and ever-moving picture strikes th eye; for innumerable vessels are discovered i various directions, some crowding into, and other bearing away from, the bays and harbours wit which the coast is every where indented. Such a prospect of human ingenuity and industry, em ployed in exchanging the superfluities of the

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old World, for the productions of the New, CHAP. pens another, and, I might add, an almost un-

Thus the mountains of the West Indies, if not, in themselves, objects of perfect beauty, conribute greatly towards the beauty of general sture; and furely the inhabitants cannot reflect. but with the deepest sense of gratitude to diine Providence, on the variety of climate, fo onducive to health, ferenity and pleafure, which befe elevated regions afford them. On this fubed I speak from actual experience. In a mariime fituation, on the fultry plains of the fouth de, near the town of Kingston, where I chiefly ended during the space of fourteen years, the meral medium of heat during the hottest months from June to November, both inclusive) was ighty degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer \*. ht a villa eight miles diftant, in the highlands of iguanea, the thermometer feldom rose, in the ottest part of the day, above feventy. Here then as a difference of ten degrees in eight miles; ad in the morning and evening the difference as much greater. At Cold Spring, the feat of tr. Wallen, a very high fituation fix miles furher in the country, possessed by agentleman who as taste to relish its beauties and improve its roductions, the general state of the thermomeer is from 55 to 65°. It has been observed so ow as 44°; fo that a fire there, even at noon day, not only comfortable but necessary a great Sered N 2 part

In the other months, viz. from December to May, the amounter ranges from 70 to 80°. The night air in the months of December and January is fometimes furprifingly not: I have known the thermometer fo low at furn-rife as 60°, and in the town of Kingston; but in the hottest months, the ifference between the temperature of noon day and midnight not more than 5 or 6°.

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BOOK part of the year \*. It may be supposed, the a fudden transition from the hot atmosphere of the plains, to the chill air of the higher regions is commonly productive of mischievous effects on the human frame; but this, I believe, is feldom the cafe, if the traveller, as prudence die tates, fets off at the dawn of the morning (when the pores of the skin are in some measure shoul and is cloathed somewhat warmer than usual With these precautions, excursions into the uplands are always found fafe, falubrious, and de lightful. I will observe too, in the words of an agreeable writer t, that " on the tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and ant vanuh where

> Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the fea. The foil is a black mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flourish in fo cold a climate. Neither the nefberry, the avocado pear, the ftar apple, nor the orange will bear within a confiderable height of Mr. Wallen's graden; but many of the English fruits, as the apple, the pead and the strawberry, flourish there in great perfection, with is veral other valuable exotics; among which I observed a green number of very fine plants of the teatree and other orient productions. The ground in its native flate is almost entirely covered with different forts of the fern, of which Mr. Walls has reckoned about 400 diffinet species. A person vising Cold Spring for the first time, almost conceives himself trans ported to a distant part of the world; the air and face of the country fo widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all strangers to him. Among others peculiar to these lofty regions, is a species of the swallow, to plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake and there is a very fine fong bird called the fift-eye, of a black ish brown, with a white ring round the neck. I visited this place in December 1788, the thermometer stood at 57° at funrife, and never exceeded 64° in the hottest part of the day I thought the climate the most delightful that I had ever expe rienced. On the Blue Mountain peak, which is 7,431 to from the level of the fea, the thermometer was found to range from 47° at fun-rife to 58° at noon, even in the month of August. "See Med. Comment. Eding: 1780. not more than 5 or 60.

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there there is not that immense weight of gross CHAP.

apours pressing upon the body, the mind acts
ith greater freedom, and all the functions, both
if soul and body, are performed in a superior
nanner." I wish I could add, with the same auhor, that " the mind at the same time leaves all
w and vulgar sentiments behind it, and in apmaching the etherial regions, shakes off it's
arthly affections, and acquires something of cessillal purity!"

To these inequalities of its surface, however, is owing that although the soil in many parts this island is deep and very fertile, yet the pantity of rich productive land, is but small, proportion to the whole. The generality of that has been cultivated is of a middling quatry, and requires labour and manure to make it ield liberally. In fine, with every prejudice in a favour, if we compare Jamaica with many ther islands of nearly the same extent, (Sicily, it instance, to which it was compared by Combus) it must be pronounced an unfruitful and borious country, as the following detail will smonstrate.

Jamaica is one hundred and fifty miles in agth, and on a medium of three measurements different places, about forty miles in breadth. hele data, supposing the island to have been a velcountry, would give 3,840,000 Acres. But a great part consisting

But a great part confisting high mountains, the surficies of which comprise more land than the base one, I conceive it is a motrate estimate to allow on ataccount resummer, which is

240,000

The Total is

4,080,000 Acres.

BOOK Of these, it is sound by a return of the clerk II. of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589, were, in November 1789, located, or taken up, by grants from the crown. Thus it appears that upwards of one half the lands are considered as of no kind of value, the expence of taking out a patent being of no great account; and even of the located lands, I conceive that little more than one million is at present in cultivation.

In fugar plantations, (including the land referved for the purpose of supplying staves, timber, and fire-wood; or appropriated for common pasturage, all which is commonly two-thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be stated at 639,000; it appearing that the precise number of those estates, according to returns made upon oath to March 1789, was 710, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, must be deemed sufficiently liberal.

Of breeding farms (or, as they are commonly called in the island, pens) the number is about 400; to each of which I will allow 700 acre which gives 280,000, and no person who has in spected the country with an inquisitive eye, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, confee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the provision plantations, more than one half the extent assigned to the pens. The result of the whole is 1,059,000 acres, leaving upwards three million an unimproved, unproductive will derness, of which not more than one fourth parties, I imagine, fit for any kind of profitable cultivation; great part of the interior country being both impracticable and inaccessible.

But, notwithstanding that so great a part of this island is wholly unimprovable, yet (such the powerful influence of great heat and cont

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nual moisture) the mountains are in general co- CHAP. vered with extensive woods, containing excellent imbers, fome of which are of prodigious growth and folidity; fuch as the lignum vitæ, dog-wood. iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees; most of which fink in water, and are of a compactness and impenetrability inconceivable by European workmen. Some of hele are necessary in mill-work, and would be highly valuable in the Windward Islands. They are even fo, in fuch parts of Jamaica as, having been long cultivated, are nearly cleared of coniguous woods; but it frequently happens, in the interior parts, that the new fettler finds the abundance of them an incumbrance instead of a benefit, and having provided himself with a suffitiency for immediate use, sets fire to the rest, norder to clear his lands, it not answering the epence of conveying them to the fea-coast for the purpose of sending them to a distant martet. Of foster kinds, for boards and shingles, the species are innumerable; and there are many tentiful varieties adapted for cabinet-work, mong others the bread-nut, the wild-lemon, and the well-known mahogany.

As the country is thus abundantly wooded, fo, in the whole, we may affert it to be well waered. There are reckoned throughout its extent bove one hundred rivers, which take their rife in the mountains, and run, commonly with great apidity, to the sea, on both sides of the island. None of them are deep enough to be navigated by marine veffels. Black River in St. Elizabeth, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepest and gentlest, and admits flat-bottomed

ooats and canoes for about thirty miles. Of the fprings, which every where abound, even in the highest mountains, some are medi-

BOOK cinal; and are faid to be highly efficacious in diforders peculiar to the climate. The most remarkable of these, is found in the eastern parish of St. Thomas, and the fame of it has created a village in its neighbourhood, which is called the Bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain. about a mile distant, and is too hot to admit a hand being held underneath: a thermometer on Fahrenheit's scale, being immersed in a glass of this water, immediately rose to 123°. It is fulphureous, and has been used with great advantage in that dreadful difease of the climate called the dry-belly-ach. There are other fprings, both fulphureous and chalybeate, in different parts of the country; of which however the properties are but little known to the inhabitants in general.

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In many parts of Jamaica there is a great appearance of metals; and it is afferted by Blome, and other early writers, that the Spanish inhabitants had mines both of filver and copper: I believe the fact. But the industry of the present possessor is perhaps more profitably exerted on the surface of the earth, than by digging into its bowels. A lead mine was indeed opened some years ago, near to the Hope estate, in the parish of St. Andrew, and it is said, there was no want of ore, but the high price of labour, or other causes with which I am unacquainted, compelled the proprietors to relinquish their

project.

Of the most important of the present natural productions, as sugar, indigo, cossee and cotton, I shall have occasion to treat at large, when the course of my work shall bring me to the subject of agriculture. It only remains therefore, at present, to subjoin a few observations on the vegetable classes of inferior order: I mean those which, though

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though not of equal commercial importance with CHAP, the preceding ones, are equally necessary to the comfort and subsistence of the inhabitants. If the reader is inclined to botanical researches, he is referred to the voluminous collections of Sloane and Browne.

The several species of grain cultivated in this island are, 1st. Maize, or Indian corn, which commonly produces two crops in the year, and sometimes three: it may be planted at any time when there is rain, and it yields according to the soil from fifteen to forty bushels the acre. 2dly. Guiney corn, which produces but one crop in the year; it is planted in the month of September, and gathered in January following, yielding from thirty to fixty bushels an acre. 3dly. Various kinds of calavances (a species of pea); and lastly nee, but in no great quantity, the situation proper for its growth being deemed unhealthy, and the labour of negroes commonly employed in the cultivation of articles that yield greater pro-

This island abounds likewife with different ands of grafs, both native and extraneous, of reellent quality; of the first is made exceeding ood hav, but not in great abundance; this mehod of husbandry being practifed only in a few arts of the country; and it is the less necesay as the inhabitants are happily accommodated th two different kinds of artificial grafs, both tremely valuable, and yielding great profusion f food for cattle. The first is an aquatic plant alled Scot's grafs, which though generally supoled to be an exotic, I have reason to think grows ontaneously in most of the swamps and moles of the West-Indies. It rises to five or fix tt in height, with long fucculent joints, and is very quick vegetation. From a fingle acre of this

BOOK this plant, five horses may be maintained a whole II. year, allowing fifty-fix pounds of grass a-day to each.

The other kind, called Guiney-grafs, may be confidered as next to the fugar-cane, in point of importance; as most of the grazing and breeding farms or pens throughout the island, were originally created, and are still supported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence the plenty of horned cattle both for the butcher and planter; which is such that few markets in Europe furnish beef at a cheaper rate, or of better quality than those of Jamaica. Perhaps the set-tlement of most of the north-side parishes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent grafs, which happened by accident about fifty years ago; the feeds having been brought from the coast of Guiney as food for some birds which were presented to Mr. Ellis, chief-justice of the Fortunately the birds did not live to confume the whole stock, and the remainder being carelessly thrown into a fence, grew and flourished, and it was not long before the eagerness displayed by the cattle to reach the grass, attracted Mr. Ellis's notice, and induced him to collect and propagate the feeds; which now thrive in some of the most rocky parts of the island; beflowing verdure and fertility on lands which, otherwife would not be worth cultivation.

The feveral kinds of kitchen-garden produce, as edible roots and pulse, which are known in Europe, thrive also in the mountains of this island; and the markets of Kingston and Spanish-Town are supplied with cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green-peas, asparagus and various sorts of European herbs, in the utmost abundance. Some of them (as the three first) are I think of superior

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favour to the same kinds produced in England. CHAP. To my own tafte however, several of the native IV. growths, especially the chocho, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale, are more agreeable than any of the esculent vegetables of Europe. The other indigenous productions of this class are plantains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calalue (a species of spinnage) eddoes, cassavi, and sweet A mixture of thefe, stewed with salted fish or salted meat of any kind, and highly seafoned with Cayenne-pepper, is a favourite olio among the negroes. For bread, an unripe roafted plantain is an excellent substitute, and univerfally preferred to it by the negroes and most of the native whites. It may in truth be called the flaff of life to the former; many thousand acres being cultivated in different parts of the country for their daily support \*.

Of the more elegant fruits, the variety is equalled only by their excellence. Perhaps no country on earth affords so magnificent a desert; and
leonceive that the following were spontaneously
bestowed on the island by the bounty of nature;
—the annana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw,
guava, sweet-sop of two species, cashew-apple,
custard-apple (a species of chirimoya †) coco-nut,
star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum
and its varieties, pindal-nut, nesoury, mammee,
mammee-sapota, Spanish-goosberry, prickly-pear,
and perhaps a few others. For the orange, civil

This fruit, though introduced into Hispaniola at a very tarly period, was not originally a native of the West Indies: it was carried thither from the Canary islands by Thomas de Berlanga, a friar, in the year 1516. The banana is a species of the same fruit.

<sup>†</sup> This fruit is the boast of South America, and is reckoned by Ulloa one of the finest in the world. I have been informed that several plants of it are flourishing in Mr. East's princely garden, at the soot of the Liguanea mountains.

BOOK and china, the lemon, lime, shaddock and its nu. merous spécies, the vine, melon, fig and pome. granate, the West India islands were probably in. debted to their Spanish invaders. Excepting the strawberry and a few of the growths of European orchards (which however attain to no great perfection unless in the highest mountains) the rose. apple, genip, and some others of no great value, I do not believe that English industry had added much to the catalogue, until within the last twenty years. About the year 1773 a botanic garden was established under the fanction of the Assembly, but it was not until the year 1782 that it could justly boast of many valuable exotics. At that period, the fortune of war having thrown into the possession of Lord Rodney a French ship bound from the island of Bourbon to Cape Francois in St. Domingo, which was found to have on board fome plants of the genuine cinnamon, the mango and other oriental productions, his lordship, from that generous partiality which he always manifested for Jamaica and its inhabitants, prefented the plants to his favourite island;-thus. nobly ornamenting and enriching the country his valour had protected from conquest. Happily, the present was not ill bestowed; the cinnamon may now be faid to be naturalized to the country. Several persons are establishing plantations of it, and one gentleman has fet out fifty thousand plants. The mango is become almost as common as the orange; but for want of attention runs into a thousand seminal varieties. Some of them, to my tafte, are perfectly delicious.

I shall conclude this chapter, with an authentic catalogue of the foreign plants in the public botanical garden of this island; lamenting, at the same time, that I am not able to gratify the reader with a more copious and extensive display, from

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the magnificent orchard of my late friend Hinton EHAP. East, Esquire, who had promised to favour me with an Hortus Eastensis, to be prepared under his own immediate inspection purposely for this work;—but much greater room have I to lament the cause of my disappointment, and mourn over the severity of that sate which suddenly snatched a most amiable and excellent citizen from his siends and the public, and hurried him to an untimely grave.—Such is the vanity of hope, and the uncertainty of life \*!

Mr. East died in April 1792. His botanical garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains, in St. Andrew's parish, is perhaps the most magnificent establishment of the kind in the world. A catalogue of its contents I have the pleasure to hear is preparing for the press by Doctor Broughton, a very eminent and learned physician and botanist, now residing in smaica.

Oriental, Sprican, and Southfa Irus, 61.

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Superior, 10 Ceylon Circ

Mango-Tree.

Coll Language

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## CATALOGUE

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# ent EXOTIC PLANTS,

IN THE TOWNSHIP

### Botanical Garden of JAMAICA, 1792.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THOMAS DANCER, M.D. ISLAND BOTANIST

Oriental, African, and South-fea Trees, Shrubs, &c

Laurus.

Cinnamo-

RASSE Coronde, of true Ceylon Cinnamon. The specimens of JamaicaCinnamon sent to Greate Britain have been deemed equal, if no superior, to the best Ceylon Cinnamon. Mango-Tree, severa

Mangifera. Indica.

Artocarpus. Macrocar-

varieties.

Jaack, a species of th
Bread Fruit; vide Di

fertatio

Cycas

M

DO

fertation of Thurn-CHAP. berg, for the various uses of the Jaack and Bread Fruit.

Garcinia ?

A supposed species of Mangosteen.

Pandanus Spondias Chinese Hemp Palm. Otaheite Plumb.

Guilandina

Otaheite Plumb.

Moringa, root used for

horse-radish; said, but erroneously, to be the Lignum Nephriticum of the

fhops.

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Lebeck

Moringa

Bois Noir, Oriental Ebony.

N. B. The foregoing Plants were taken in a French Prize, bound from the Isle of Bourbon to St. Domingo, and presented to the Botanical Garden by Lord Rodney; which donation is commemorated by the following inscription on an obelisk in the Botanical Garden, erected for that purpose:

Perillustri Viro Rodney

Qui

Patriam Virtute ejus conservatam

Ornare atq. ditare exoptans

Cinnamomum

Plurefq. Stirpes Orientales

Quæ hic vigent

Largiebatur A. D. 1782.

Sapindus

Edulis La

La-tji, or Lee-chee, Chinefe Plumb. Introduced by Dr. Clark. Vide Du Halde.

Cycas

Circinalis

Sagoe. Introduced by Dr. Clark. For an account of the cultivation and prepa-

ration

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II.	hav odi rot	berg,
5	softhe lane.	10.200
	*Croton?	Sebiferum
	AC 69129 H ED	oggat A
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ration of the Sagoe, vide Forrest's Voy. age to New Guiney.

Tallow Tree. First introduced by Mr. Pinnock. Introduced into the Garden by Dr. Clark.

W

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Met

Lotus

Mimo

Bank

Voi

d tarpala haloggo. Churche Berge Palm.

Ocabeite Plumb.

Mimofa Nilotica?

Gum Arabic, produces fine gum. Introduced by Dr. Clark.

Another species, said to produce Gum Arabic, Inthops. troduced by Mr. Boy Acres Oriental East.

Papyrifera Paper Mulberry. Introduced by Dr. Clark. Vide Cook's Voyages, for an acre noted to the following under parent on count of the manner in which paper and cloth are made from the bark of

Thuja

Morus

this tree. Occidentalis Oriental Arbor Vita Introduced by Dr. Clark. First intro duced into the country by Mr. Wallen, Ferrea

Dracana Hedyfarum

Gyrans

Dragon Tree. Intro duced by Dr. Clark Moving Plant. Intro duced by Dr. Clark

Thaa

Viridis

Tea. First introduced into the country by

An Groton. saying ben moire vir

oe, oyey. in-Mr. ucden

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In-Dr, ok's acnanaper nade

Dr. ntroounntroounllen. ntroclark ucce ry by

minima.M	Salmeral	Mr. Baker, feveral CH
Lander to 1	100.1	years ago.
Olen	Fragrans	Chinese Olive, with
	.vinSheruT	the flowers of which
Control of the second		it is faid the best
dentails of		teasare scented. In-
District Control of the Control of t	Symatric	
all the time		troduced by Mr.
de mort m	1, 100 110	Eaft.
Wampee )	An unkno	wn Genus of Fruit from
centic, and	sil sia	China. Sent to Dr.
	olugione i	Dancer by Sir Jo-
	resolved.	feph Banks, 1790.
Cinhan 1	Biloba	Maidenhair Tree. A
Ginkgo	A CONTRACTOR OF STREET	
4 - 445	Conney	tree from Japan, pro-
	Dangers	ducing an excellent
es mol.	moderil .	nut. See in account
	frica.	of it in Kæmpfer.
a should -	or Cardamor	Introduced by Dr.
Secret and	. 12 aris	Dancer, 1792.
Philadelphus	Aromaticus?	Tea of the Circumna-
Amount Prous	4110/04/10/03	vigators. Introduc-
	7. 3.	ad ber Mer Fast
V. C.	A AND A	ed by Mr. East.
Metrofidera	ir morii s	Botany-Bay Spice
	. wih	Tree. Introduced
Cont Page	Another	by Dr. Dancer,
Karal	and and	1792.
Lotus	Similis	Botany-Bay Plant.
and the state of	700	Seeds fent to Dr.
	4110311	Dancer by Mr. Lee.
Mimola	Wateres L. II-	
Mimofa	Heterophylla	Another Botany-Bay
V. I. I.	Eaff	Plant. Seeds fent
Taller Lan	An Africa	by Mr. Lee.
Benkfia	Sinuata	Another Botany-Bay
tion cover	ci a visto v	Plant. Introduced
William Land	A Commit	by Dr. Dancer,
	7 0 0	- 1792.
Vol. I.	O CONTRACTOR	Kæmpferia
	TO A STATE OF	accompje ou

K Kæmpferia	Galanga	Root. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
Curcuma	Longa	Turmeric. Introduce ed by Mr. Pinnock.
Piper	Nigrum	per. Sent by Dr. Anderson from the
	nards our	Royal Garden at St. Vincent's, and
	ng paga	presented by Mr. Hylton.
Amomum?	Gr. Paradifi	Grains of Paradife, or Guiney Pepper. In- troduced by Mr.
mile on all	90 300 11 30 30	Hibbert, from A. frica.
200 20 L 3	Cardamomum	Cardamom Seeds of the Shops. Intro- duced by Dr. Dan- cer, 1792.
Oldenlandia	Umbellata	from the East la- dies.
Bafella	Rubra	Another East India dye. Seeds brought out by Lord Effing- ham.
* Citrus	We Amother	Mandarine Orange Introduced by Mr. East.
Cola (gen.nov	Sants	An African Fruit, in- troduced by the Ne- groes before Sloane's time, called Bichey
Alegent .	1792.	or Beffai.

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Ako

- (1	W		195
Aka (gen. not	JAfricana	Another African Fruit, Cointroduced by the Negroes.	HAR. IV.
	Digitata	Baobab. Ethiopian Sour Gourd, or Monkey. Bread Fruit. Introduced	7.
Phonix	Dadvlifera	by Mr. East. Date. Probably intro-	1
	From St. Garden.	duced by perfons of the Jewish Na-	
Blais	Guinien fis	Palm Oil. Likewise introduced by the	
Eschynomene	Grandiflora	Choiseul Pea. Intro- duced by Mr. Ke- meys.	
	Sesban	Sesban. Introduced by Dr. Clark.	
	Japonica	Japan Rofe. Intro- duced by Mr. Wat-	
Gardenia	Florida	Introduced first by Mr. Wallen, after- wards by Dr. Clark.	
Hibifcus 1	Rofa Sinen fis	Chinese Rose. Intro- duced by Mr. Pin- nock.	1
OFF	Mutabilis	Changeable Rofe.	
M M	-	East India Mahoe. In- troduced by Mr. East.	
Dad Lad	Syriacus	Syrian Hibifcus. In- troduced by Dr.	
	Speciosa	Dancer, 1792. Introduced by Dr.	
· Marie	, a	Dancer, 1792.	
1.0	. 0	2 Rofa	

#### HISTORY OF THE

BOOK	Rofa	Alba Indica	East India White Role. Introduced by Mr. East.
	Limodorum	Chinense	Introduced by Mr.
	Schinus	Molle	Soft India Mastich, Introduced by Mr. East.
	Bauhinia	beauti	Seeds brought out by Lord Effingham.
	Caffia	soit.	From St. Vincent's Garden.
	Crotallaria	Aby finica	Crotall. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
	-02001 .08G	Repanda	Chinese Hemp. Seeds brought out by
	spa did Vi	pasup	Lord Effingham.

### European and North American Trees, Shrubs, &c. &c.

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	H ISBPOARET	thirties bierrich
· salte .ma.	la v .nld.	
Quercus	Robur	English Oak. Intro- duced by Mr. Wal-
-RIT IM	(c become	len.
	Cerris	Turkey Oak. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Fagus	Castanea	Chefnut. First intro- duced by Mr. Wal-
	Tall.	len, feveral years
The state of	Surlan Hai	ago; by Dr. Dancer,
" and . yel .	Table post	1702.
	Pumila	Chinquapin Chefnut;
	i madhesm!	by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
-	Benger	Platanus

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	To do the	HOTELH .
Platanus	( cid for	Oriental Plane. Dr. CHAP. Dancer, 1792. IV.
	Hifpanic.	Spanish Plane. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Acer	Pseudoplatan Monspeliens	Sycamore Maple.  Montpelier Maple.
	Saccharina	duced by Mr. Wal- len.
Esculus	Hippocastan	Horse Chesnut. In- troduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- 1	Pavia	Dwarf Horse Chesnut. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
Juglans	Regia	Walnut. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
Corylus	Alba	Hiccory. By the fame. Hazle Nut.
Amygdalus	Perfica	Peach Tree. Introduc- ed by Mr. Wallen.
by by	Commun.	Almond. By the same.
Olea	Europaa	Olive. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
Pyrus	Malus	Apple, feveral kinds. Introduced by vari- rious persons.
b.	Cydonia	Quince. Introduced long ago by various persons.
Mespilus	Germanica	
Morus	Nigra	Mulberry. Introduc- ed long ago.
	Alba	White Mulberry. Pre- fented by Mr. Loofe- ly.
	The state of the s	

Rubus

### HISTORY OF THE

W . 57 F3	10 m	Commercial	Tarried Comment
BOOK II.	Rubus	Idaus	Raspberry. Introduc- ed by Mr. Baker,
1		Sylvaticus	and others. Blackberry, two fpecies, Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	Fragaria	es Sugar M deced lon.	Strawberry, feveral kinds. Mr. Wal- len, and others,
	Piftachia	D. shall, sell pubori	Pistacia Nut. Intro- duced by Mr. East.
	Prunus	Mahaleb	Bird Cherry. Intro- duced by Dr. Dan-
	***	read a state of	cer, 1792.
	Samuel Samuel	Padus	By Dr. Dancer.
	Fraxinus	Ornus	Manna Ash. Intro- duced by Dr. Clark,
	Sambucus	Ebulus	Dwarf Elder. By the fame.
	Composition of the control of the co	Niger	Common Elder. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	Laurus	Saffafras	Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	risv qu'esti	Benzoin	Gum Benjamin; by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Calycanthus	Floridus	Carolina Allipice. Introduced by Mr. East.
	Ceratonia	Siliqua	Carob, or St. John's Bread. By the same
	Liquidamb.	Styraciflua	Storax. By Dr. Day cer, 1792.
	Sophora Populus	Virginica	Seeds fent to Dr. Dan cer, by Mr. Lee.
	Populus	Tacamahaca	Dancer, 1792.

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	W FOT I	NDIES.
Ciftus	Labdanif.	Gum Ciftus. By Dr. CHA Dancer, 1792. IV.
Rhus	Cotinus	Venus's Sumach. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Radicans	Poison Oak. Ditto.
	Vernix	Varnish. Ditto.
	Sumach	Sumach. Introduced by Mr. Eaft.
Ximenia	Aculeat	Introduced by Mr. East.
Myrica	Cerifera	Candle-berry Myrtle. Introduced by Mr. Eaft.
Magnoli <b>a</b>	Grandistore	Laurel-leaved Tulip. Introduced by Mr. Wallen, and Dr. Clark.
	Glauca	By Mr. Wallen.
Liriodendrum	Tulipifera	Tulip Tree. Intro- duced by Mr. Bar- ret.
Clionanthus	Virginica	Fringe Tree from North America. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Nysfa	Tupelo	Tupelo Tree from North America. In- troduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Cercis	Siliquast.	Judas Tree. Dr. Dan- cer, 1792.
Tiburnum	Tinus	Viburnum. Dr. Dan- cer, 1792.
piraa	Opulus	Carolina Gelder Rose, Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Arbutus	Unedo	Arbutus, or Straw- berry Tree, Dr. Dancer, 1792, Arbutus

	11 1		C 1 4 10 2
OK	Arbutus	Andrachne	total Library
II.	Philadelphus	estalia Le pare 7	Mock Orange. By Mr. Wallen.
	Ruscus	Alexandrin	. Butchers Broom.
	Lygeum	Spartium	The poor in Spain manufacture coats
		A same or Like ord Saladonia	with the materials of this plant, which refult wet, and hard- ly ever wear out.
	**************************************	Candide	Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Spartium	Scoparium	Common Broom. Pre- fented by Mr. Walk len.
	Kalmia	Latifolia	Dr. Dancer.
		Angustifolic	Presented by Mr. Wal- len.
	Quercus	Suber	Cork Tree. Introduce ed by Mr. East.
		Coccifera	Kermes Oak. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Salix	Babylon.	Weeping Willow. By Mr. Eaft.
	Lonicera	Tartarica	Honey fuckle. Mr Wallen.
	How lost in All as the La- ced IV La	Americana	Upright America ditto. By Dr. Dan cer. 1702.
	Tradescantia	Virginica	Virginia Spiderwon By Dr. Dance 1792.
	Syringa	Vulgaris	Lilac. By Mr. Eaf and Mr. Wallen.
	t Cielder Hore. encer, 1590.	Perfica	Persian ditto. By D Dancer, 1792.
	Myrtus Jasminum	Officinale	Myrtle feveral species Jasmine.
	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	- 4420 14	Odoru

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	Odorat. Azoricum	Introduced by Mr. CHA
Roja	Eglenteria	Sweet Briar. By Mr. Wallen.
	Albamoscha	By Mr. Wallen,
	Cinnamom.	
	Muscosa	Moss Provence. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Нурвгісит	Balearic.	St. John's Wort. By Wallen.
DC	Monogyn.	By Mr. Eaft.
Pforalea Colutea	Frutescens?	By Major Greene. By the same.
Cupressus	Semperviren	s Cypress.
Pinus	Cedrus	Cedar of Lebanon. By Mr. East.
	Tada	Frankincense. By Dr. Dancer, 1702.
	Halapensis	Aleppo Pine. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- ;	Balfamea	Canadian Balfam. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.

South American and Exotic West Indian Plants.

Smilax	Sarfa	Sarfaparilla.	Intro-
		duced by	Zach.
Annona	Cheremoja	Bayly, Efq. i Peruvian Swee	t Sop.
Quassia	Amara	Quaffia Bark, I nal. Sent f	
		V	ncent's

#### HISTORY OF THE

Vincent's Garden,

B	0	0	K
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Arundo

		VILLEGIT & GAIGE
	and i	Presented by Mr. Thame.
* Epidendrum	Vanella	Vanelloe.
Cassine .	Paragua	Paragua Herb. Intro- duced by Mr. Wal- len.
Caclus	Coccinelifer	Cochineal Opuntia or Nopal.
Tradescantia	Discolor	Honduras Spiderwon, Introduced by Mr. Shakespear, 1778.
Yucca	Aloefolia	Adams's Needle, on Dagger Plant- Brought by the Rev. Dr. Linday
BOURD T VIO	16.73	from Barbadoes
	Filamentosa	1772. Introduced by Dr Dancer, 1792.

Bambu Bamboo Cane. Intro

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<sup>\*</sup> This, I am informed, is found in many of the mountain of Jamaica, growing fpontaneously.

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#### CHAP. V.

parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vesties.—Governor or Commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Public offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix, No I. No II.

AMAICA is divided into three counties; Middlefex, Surry, and Cornwall. The counof Middlefex is composed of eight parishes, ne town, and thirteen villages. The town is tat of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, or Spanish-Town, the apital of the island. Most of the villages of this ad the other counties, are hamlets of no great acount, fituated at the different harbours and shiping-places, and supported by the traffic carried on tere. St. Jago-de-la-Vega is fituated on the banks the river Cobre, about fix miles from the fea, ed contains between five and fix hundred houses, nd about five thousand inhabitants, including te people of colour. It is the refidence of the overnor or commander in chief, who is accomodated with a fuperb palace; and it is here,

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BOOK that the legislature is convened, and the Council. Chancery, and the Supreme Court of Judicatur are held.

The county of Surry contains feven parished two towns, and eight villages. The towns a those of Kingston and Port-Royal; the form of which is fituated on the north fide of a bear tiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, who repeated defolations by earthquake and fi had driven the inhabitants from Port-Roya It contains one thousand fix hundred and fire five houses, besides negro-huts and war houses. The number of white inhabitants the year 1788 was fix thousand five hundr and thirty-nine: of free people of colo three thousand two hundred and eighty: flaves fixteen thousand fix hundred and fift nine; total number of inhabitants, of complexions and conditions, twenty-fix the fand four hundred and seventy-eight. It is place of great trade and opulence. Many the houses in the upper part of the town extremely magnificent; and the markets! butchers' meat, turtle, fish, poultry, fruits a vegetables, &c. are inferior to none. I can a too, from the information of a learned and i genious friend, who kept comparative regift of morality, that fince the furrounding count is become cleared of wood this town is found be as healthful as any in Europe.

Port-Royal, once a place of the greatest weal and importance in the West Indies, is now a duced, by repeated calamities, to three street a few lanes, and about two hundred house it contains however the royal navy yard, heaving down and resitting the king's ships; to navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment soldiers. The fortifications are kept in exceptions.

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nt order, and vie in strength, as I am told, CHAP.
th any fortress in the king's dominions.

V.

Cornwall contains five parishes, three towns, ad six villages.—The towns are Savanna-la-Mar the south side of the island, and Montego Bay d Falmouth on the north. The former was most entirely destroyed by a dreadful hurricane d inundation of the sea in 1780. It is now rely rebuilt, and may contain from sixty to serve houses.

Montego-Bay is a flourishing and opulent m: it consists of two hundred and twenty-thouses, thirty-three of which are capital mes or warehouses, and contains about six andred white inhabitants. The number of pail vessels which clear annually at this port about one hundred and fifty, of which seventy capital ships; but in this account are includant of those which enter at Kingston.

falmouth, or (as it is more commonly called)

Point, is fituated on the fouth fide of MarBrae harbour, and, including the adjoining
layes of Martha-Brae and the rock, is comfed of two hundred and twenty houses. The
fid increase of this town and neighbourhood
him the last fixteen years is astonishing. In
11, the three villages of Martha-Brae, Falmouth,
the Rock, contained together but eighteen
ties; and the vessels which entered annually
the port of Falmouth did not exceed ten.
present it can boast of upwards of thirty caal stationed ships, which load for Great Brit, exclusive of sloops and smaller craft.

each parish (or precinct consisting of an union two or more parishes) is governed by a chief sistrate, styled Custos Rotulorum, and a body suffices unlimited by law as to number, by om sessions of the peace are held every three

months,

BOOK months, and courts of Common Pleas to try actions arising within the parish or precinct, to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty shillings a fin-

gle justice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels, and each parish is provided with a rector, and other church officers; the rector's livings, the presentation to which rests with the governor or commander in chief, are severally as follows, viz. St. Catharine £.300 per annum; Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, Clarendon and Westmoreland, £.250 per annum; St. David St. George, and Portland, £.100 per annum; all the rest £.200 per annum. These sums are paid in lieu of tythes by the churchwardens of the several parishes respectively, from the amount of taxes levied by the vestries on the inhabitants.

Each parish builds and repairs a parsonage house, or allows the rector £.50 per annum in lieu of one; besides which, many of the livings have glebe lands of very considerable value annexed to them, as the parish of St. Andrew which altogether is valued at one thousand pound sterling per annum \*. The bishop of London is faid to claim this island as part of his diocele but his jurisdiction is renounced and barred by the laws of the country; and the governor or commander in chief, as supreme head of the provincial church, not only inducts into the severa rectories, on the requisite testimonials being produced that the candidate has been admitted in to priest's orders according to the canons of

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<sup>\*</sup> In the year 1788 the affembly paffed a law to prohib the burial of the dead within the walls of the churches; an as by this regulation feveral of the rectors were deprived of perquifite, an augmentation of £.50 per annum was made a most of the livings,

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the church of England, but he is likewise vested CHAP. with the power of suspending a clergyman of lewd and disorderly life ab officio, upon application from his parishioners. A suspension ab officio is in fact a suspension a beneficio, no minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate; unless prevented by sickness.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the freeholders. Besides their power of asserting and appropriating taxes, they appoint waywardens, and allot labourers for the repair of the public highways. They likewise nominate proper persons, who are called collecting-contables, for the collection both of the public and parochial taxes.

The supreme court of judicature for the whole and (commonly called the Grand Court, as possessing similar jurisdiction in this country to that of the feveral courts of King's Bench, Comnon Pleas, and Exchequer, in Great Britain) is held in the town of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, the caial of the county of Middlesex, on the last fuelday of each of the months of February, May, August, and November, in every year. a this court, the chief justice of the island preides, whose falary is only f. 120, but the permifites arising from the office make it worth bout £.3,000 per annum. The affistant judges regentlemen of the island, commonly planters, the receive neither falary nor reward of any ind for their attendance. Three judges must be resent to constitute a court; and each term is mited in duration to three weeks. From this ourt, if the chose in action be for a sum of £ 300 lerling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the go-

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BOOK vernor and council, as a court of error; if fen.
II. tence of death be paffed for felony, the appeal

is to the governor alone \*.

Affize courts also are heldevery three months in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Sa vanna-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. The Surry court begins the last Tuesday in January April, July, and October. The Cornwall cour begins the last Tuesday in March, June, Septem ber, and December; each affize court is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inha bitants law-courts every month of the year, be fides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty and the feveral parish courts. The judges of the affize court act without falary or reward, as we as the affiftant judges of the fupreme court, and one of whom, if present, presides in the assa court. No appeal from the latter to the forme is allowed, but judgments of the affize imme diately following the fupreme court, are conf dered as of one and the same court, and have

<sup>\*</sup> By an early law of this island (passed in 1681) fro holders of known residence are not subject to arrest and bei held to bail in civil process. The mode of proceeding is, deliver the party a fummons (leaving it at his house is deen good fervice) together with a copy of the declaration, for teen days before the court, whereupon the defendant is bout to appear, the very next court, or judgment will pass by d fault. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each cou execution iffues; for which there is but one writ, compr hending both a fieri facias and a capias ad fatisfaciendum; b as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, it enacted that the effects levied on, shall remain in the defea ant's hands until the next court, to give him an opportunity disposing of them to the best advantage; and if he then sa paying over the money, a venditioni exponas iffues to the ma shall, to fell those, or any other goods, or take his perso The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of one term, court, after which both his person and goods are liable und the writ of venditioni exponas.

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an equal right in point of priority with those CHAP.

The governor or commander in chief is chancellor by his office, and prefides folely in that high department, which is administered with great form and folemnity. He is also the fole ordinary for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration. From the first of these offices, he derives extensive authority, and from the latter considerable emolument.

As appendages of the supreme court, the feveralgreat offices, viz. the office of enrollments, Vol. I.

The profits and emoluments arifing annually from the government of Jamaica may, I think, be stated nearly as follows, viz.

Salary

6. 5,000

less of the Court of Ordinary — 1,400
Share of Custom House Seizures — 1,000

The affembly have purchased for the governor's use, a farm of about 300 acres, called the Government Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewise a polink or provision settlement in the mountains (which is also provided with a comfortable mansion-house) and stocked both properties with 50 negroes, and a sufficiency of cattle, theep, &c. From these places (which are exclusive of the king's house in Spanish Town) the governor is, or ought to be, supplied with hay and com, mutton, milk, poultry, and provisions for his domestics, creating a saving in his houshold expences of at least

1,000

Total in currency - f. 8,550

Being equal to £.6, 100 sterling; and this is altogether exclusive of fees received by his private secretary for militia commissions, &c. &c. &c. which are not easily ascertained. It is supposed also that money has sometimes been made by the sale of church livings; and vast sums were formerly raised by scheats,

N. B. A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for £.3,000 sterling per annum.

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BOOK or fecretary of the island, provost-marshall-general, clerk of the court (or prothonotary, cufforbrevium, &c.) are held and fituated in Spanish Town. The first is an office of record, in which the laws passed by the legislature are preserved and copies of them entered into fair volumes In this office all deeds, wills, fales, and patents must be registered. It is likewise required that all persons (after fix weeks residence) intending to depart this island, do affix their names in this office, twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket or let-pass, to enable them to leave the country. In order to enforce this re gulation, mafters of veffels are obliged, at the time of entry, to give fecurity in the fum of f. 1,000 not to carry off the island any perfor without fuch ticket or let-pass. Trustees, attor nies and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of estates in their charge; and, by a lat act, mortgagees in possession are obliged to regi ter not only accounts of the crops of each year but also annual accounts current of their receipt and payments. Transcripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified, are evidences any court of law, and all deeds must be enrolle within three months after date, or they are de clared to be void as against any other deed prove and registered within the time limited; but if n fecond deed is on record, then the same are ve lid, though registered after the three months. is prefumed that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and exercise by deputation, exceed f. 6,000 sterling per as

The provost-marshall-general is an officer of high rank and great authority.—The name denotes a military origin, and doubtless the officer of the officer of

was first instituted in this island before the introduction of civil government, and continued afterwards through necessity. It is now held by patent from the crown, which is usually granted for two lives, and the patentee is permitted to ad by deputy, who is commonly the highest bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various: the acting officer is in fact high sheriff of the whole island during his contimuance in office, and permitted to nominate deputies under him for every parish or precinct. His legal receipts have been known to exceed [.7,000 sterling per annum, and it is supposed that some of his deputies make nearly as much.

The office of clerk of the supreme court is likewife held by patent and exercised by deputation. Ividence was given to the house of affembly some years ago, that its annual value at that time exmeded £.9,000 currency. Of late, I believe it is

confiderably diminished.

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Of the other great lucrative offices, the principal are those of the register in chancery, receiver general and treasurer of the illand, naval officer, and collector of the customs for the port of Kingtion. All these appointments, whether held by patent or commission, are likewise supposed to afford confiderable emolument to persons residing in Great Britain. It is computed on the whole, that not less than £.30,000 sterling is remitted annually, by the deputies in office within the ifand, to their principals in the mother country.

The legislature of Jamaica is composed of the captain general or commander in chief, of a counal nominated by the crown, confisting of twelve gentlemen, and a house of affembly containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the feveral towns and pa-Tilhes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingston, and Port P2

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BOOK Royal, and two for each of the other parifies, The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the reprefentative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general affembly they copy, as nearly as local circumftances will admit, the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as foon as the governor's affent is obtained. The power of rejection however is still referved in the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is fignified, the laws are valid.

Of the laws thus passed, the principal relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable, as the save system for instance\*; on which, and other cases, the English laws being filent, the colonial legislature has made, and continues to make, such provision therein, as the exigencies of the colony are supposed to require; and on some occasions, where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, in the mode of setting out emblements, the practice of sine and recovery, the case of insolvent debtors, the repair of the public roads, the maintenance of

Thus the evidence of a flave is not admissible against a white person. Again, although by a very early law of this island, slaves are considered as inheritance, and are accordingly subject to the incidents of real property (for as they go to the heir, so may the widow have dower of them, and the surviving husband be tenant by courtesy; and this holds equally whether slaves are possessed in gross, or belong to a plantation) yet in respect of debts, slaves are considered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels.

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the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great CHAP.
deviations from the practice of the mother country have been found indispensably requisite.

The revenues of this island may be divided into two branches; the one perpetual, by an act of the year 1728, called the revenue law, of the origin of which I have already spoken, and of which the quit-rents constitute a part; the other annual, by grants of the legislature. The revenue law may raile about f. 12,000 per annum, of which f. 8,000 is particularly appropriated, as I have elsewhere observed, and the furplus is applicable to the ontingent expences of government, in aid of the annual funds. The governor receives f. 2,500 mannum out of the f.8,000 fund. A further blary of £.2,500 is fettled upon him during his refidence in the island by a special act of the legishure, passed the beginning of his administration, and is made payable out of some one of the annual funds provided by the affembly. These at this time may amount to £.70,000, of which about £.40,000 saprovision for granting an additional pay to the others and foldiers of his majefty's forces stationed for the protection of the island. Every commissioned officer being entitled to 20s. per week, and every private to 5s.: An allowance is also made to the wives and children of the soldiers; which with the British pay enables them to live much more comfortably than the king's troops generally do in Europe.

The usual ways and means adopted for raising the above taxes are, first, a duty of 20s. per head on all negroes imported; secondly, a duty on all num and other spirits retailed and consumed within the island; thirdly, the deficiency law: mast which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of slaves to keep one white person for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is sometimes £.13, at other times £.26 per annum,

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BOOK for each white person deficient of the number required, is become so productive a source of revenue, that the bill is now considered as one of the annual supply bills: fourthly, a poll tax on all slaves, and stock, and a rate on rents and wheel carriages. Besides these, occasional tar bills are passed by the legislature, as necessity may require. I have subjoined in a note the estimate of the contingent charges of the government of this island on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof\*.

\* Estimate of the ordinary Contingent Charges of the Government of JAMAICA on the annual funds for the year 1788, viz.

The first benefit and the second of the second seco	1.41	La Hill		18
Governor's additional falary -	1	. 2,500	-	-
Subfiftence of the Troops, and Hospita	al ex-	Anny Stranger		
pences	1.2	41,300	-	-
Salaries to Officers of the Affembly, I	Print-	0.000	1184	16
ing, &c.	77 11	2,300	-	-
Clerk of the Grand Court -		100	-	-
Clerk of the Crown		100	-	-
Clerk to the Commissioners of Forts		150	-	-
Surveyor to the Bath -		200	_	-
Port Officers and Waiters	4 14	1,600	-	-
Maroon Negro Parties -	. 40	1,000	-	-
Superintendants refiding in the Ma	roon-			. 10
Towns	91 77 79	1,300	_	-
To the Engineer and Captain of diff	Ferent	4132,161		
Forts -	The Di	1,000	20	
For the Support of the Botanic Garden	30	280	-	-
Salary to the Agent -		420	-	-
To the Officers of the Troops for p	rivate	245		
Lodgings -		1,430	-	-
Supplying the Forts with Water	1	1,089	1	-
To the Commissioners of the Forts	Los	5,600	-	-
To the Kingston Hospital -		500	4	-
F. S.	1			_
Carried over -	r	60,869	-	-
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The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, CHAP. alled the half-johannes, valued in England at V. 365. each; these pass here, if of full weight, at 555. Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £. 5. 55. each, and pistoles at 265. 3d. Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at 65. 8d. and so in proportion for the smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a bitt, equal to about 5d. sterling. A guinea passes for 325. 6d. This, however, is considerably more than the usual rate of exchange, by which £. 100 sterling gives £. 140 currency.

From the fituation of this island amidst potent and envious rivals, and the vast disproportion between the number of white inhabitants and the slaves, it may be supposed that the maintemance of a powerful and well-disciplined militia

Carried over 6.60,869 bundry Demands on the Public for Official Fees, Medical Care and Gaol Fees of Prisoners, Repairs of the Public Buildings, &c. &c. 4,359 Charges of Collecting; viz. Collecting Constable's and Receiver General's Commissions, Reliefs, &c. 15 per cent. 9,783 £ . 75,011 WAYS and MEANS. Outstanding Debts - £. 25,000 Negro Duty, computed at 6,000 Rum Duty 14,000 Double Deficiency on Negroes 24,000 Poll-Tax 67,000 136,000 Deduct for prompt Payment 10 per cent. 13,600

The overplus was applied towards discharging the Pub-

BOOK is among the first objects of the policy of the legislature; and accordingly all persons from fifteen to fixty years of age are obliged by law to enlift themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own expence the necessary accourrements; but this law, I doubt, is not very rigidly enforced, as the whole militia, which is composed of three regiments of horse and fourteen regiments of foot, does not confift I conceive of more than 7000 effective troops; neither do the usual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military fubordination.-However, in times of actual danger, whether from the revolt of flaves, or the probability of invation, no troops in the world could have shewn greater promptitude or alacrity in fervice, than has been displayed by the militia of Jamaica. In such emergencies, the commander in chief, with the advice and confent of a general council of war (in which the members of the affembly have voices) may proclaim martial law. His power is then dictatorial; and all persons are subject to the articles of war \*.

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\* Soon after the above was written (the Author being a that time in Jamaica) the lieutenant governor, by the adic of a council of war, proclaimed martial law. This was in December, 1791, and it arose from a notion very generall prevalent in the island, that conspiracies and projects of rebellion were associated among the negroes, in consequence of the disturbances in St. Domingo. This apprehension induce a very strict observance of the militia laws; and the following was the return of the Cavalry and Infantry to head quarters on the 13th of January, 1792,

County	of	Surry -	336 Cavalry 2,141 Infantry	2,4
		Middlefex	375	3,0
		Cornwall	368 2,305	2,0

Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1889. The Maroons are not comprehended.

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From the given number of men able to bear CHAR. arms in any country, it is usual with political writers to estimate the inhabitants at large; but their rule of calculation does not apply to lamaica, where the bulk of the people confifts of men without families. Europeans who come to this island have feldom an idea of settling here for life. Their aim is generally to acquire fortunes to enable them to fit down comfortably in their native country; and, in the meanwhile, they confider a family as an incumbrance. Marriage therefore, being held in but little estimation, the white women and children do not bear the same proportion to the males, as in Euro-From these, and other causes, I pean climates. have found it difficult to ascertain with precifion the number of the white inhabitants. have been informed that a late intelligent chief governor (General Campbell) computed them, after diligent refearch, at 25,000; and I am induced to believe, from more than one mode of calculation, that General Campbell's estimate was near the truth. This computation was made in 1780, fince which time I am of opinion, from the many loyal Americans who have fixed themselves in Jamaica, and other causes, this number is confiderably increased. Including the troops and feafaring people, the white population may, I think, be fixed at 30,000.

The freed negroes and people of colour are computed, in a report of a committee of the house of affembly of the 12th of November, 1788, at 500 in each parish, on an average of the whole; which makes 10,000, exclusive of the black people called Maroons, who enjoy a limited degree of freedom by treaty. These, by

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BOOK the last returns that I have feen, amount to

II. about 1400 \*.

Of negroes in a state of slavery in this island, the precise number in December 1787, as ascertained on oath in the rolls from which the polltax is levied, was 210,894; and as it may answer more useful purposes hereafter than the mere gratification of curiosity, I shall distinguish the numbers in each parish, which are the following:

St. Dorothy			3,129
St. Catherine			5,304
St. John		41/0.0	5,880
St. Thomas in t	he Vale	The second	7,459
Vere -			7,487
St. Mary			17,144
St. Ann			13,324
Kingston			6,162
St. Andrew			9,613
St. David			2,881
St. Thomas in t	he East		20,492
Portland		100	4,537
St. George			5,050
St. Elizabeth			13,280
Hanover -		vor.	17,612
St. James -			18,546
Trelawney		•.	19,318
Port-Royal			2,229
Westmoreland		-	16,700
Clarendon			14,747
To	tal	_	210,894
		11 11 11	

\* It is generally supposed, and has been very confidently afferted, that these people have decreased; but the fact is otherwise. The mistake has arisen from the circumstance that some of their towns have been deserted; which is indeed true, but the

It appears, however, from the report of a CHAP. committee of the affembly above cited, that in most of the parishes it is customary to exempt persons not having more than fix negroes, from the payment of taxes on flaves, whereby many of the negroes (efpecially in the towns \*) are not given in to the different vestries, and the returns of a great many others are fraudulently concaled; thus the tax rolls do not contain the full number of flaves, which, in the opinion of the committee, were at that time 240,000, at the least; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from the importations of the last two years, exclusive of decrease. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, may be stated as follows:

Freed negroes Maroons	-	-		-		-	1,400
Negro flaves	•		-	-	-	-	250,000
		A.	To	tal		8.7	291,400
			Ya.			-	mi

the cause has been, that the negroes have only removed from one town to another. It is sufficiently known that they are the descendants of negroes formerly in rebellion, with whom, in the years 1738 and 1739, Governor Trelawney entered into treaty, which the Assembly confirmed, and granted them freedom under certain limitations. The number that surrendered was under 600. In the year 1770 they consisted of 885 men, women and children. In the year 1773 they were 1028; and they were increased in 1788 to 1333.

In Kingston, for instance, the real number is 16,659, instead of 6,162, the number on the tax rolls. On an average of the whole number of parishes, the negroes not given in or returned may be reckoned at one seventh part of the

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the quantity of shipping and the number of seamen to which it gives employment, and the nature and quantity of its exports. The following is an account, from the books of the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the number of velfels of all kinds, their registered tonnage and number of men, which cleared from the several ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, exclusive of coasting sloops, wherries, &c. viz.

	Number of Veffel		Men.
For	Great Britain 242	63,471	7,748
	Ireland 10		- 91
	American States 133		893
	Br. Amer. Colonies 66	6,133	449
	Foreign W. Indies 22	1,903	155
	Africa I	109	8
	Total - 474	85,888	9,344

It must, however, be observed, that as many of the vessels clearing for America and the so-reign West Indies make two or more voyages in the year, it is usual, in computing the real number of those vessels, their tonage and men, to deduct one third from the official numbers. With this correction the total to all parts is 400 vessels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

The exports for the same year are given on the same authority, as follows:—

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(continued.)

and the 5th of January 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market. Cotton Wool. 94 : 1 40 S 467 1961661 Cwt. qrs. lbs. Coffee 840,548 2 25 2,541,025 | 6,416 | 616,444 | 6,795-3 110.3 1,706 3 Melaffes. Piemento. 200 lbs. Gallons. 2,316 1,800 2,300 1,890,540 327,325 106,700 207,660 2,200 Gallons. Rum. 24,706 2 25 Cwt. qrs. lbs. 6,829 - 6,167 - -2,822 - -Sugar. 11 k. Amer. Colonies foreign W. Indies To what PARTS. American States Totals Great Britain Ireland

				1			30
To what PARTS.	Canger.	Cacao.	Tobacco.	Mahogany.	Poomso-	Miscellaneous, Articles,	Total Value.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs. Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Tons. Curt.	Tons.	Value.	
Court Britain reland American States Fr. Amer. Colonies oreign W. Indies	3,553 2 15 918 - 1 4 - 1	8 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	8,11	5,783 4	<u>5,</u> ]	† [ 7]	2,022,814 7 10 25,5778 10 — 66,095 18 — 26,533 2 3
Totals	4,816 2 15	82 3 15	18,140	5,878 4	6,701	1	2-116-442 17 4

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But it must be noted, that a considerable part BOOK of the cotton, indigo, tobacco, mahogany, dyewoods, and miscellaneous articles, included in the preceding account, is the produce of the foreign West Indies imported into Jamaica, part ly under the free-port law, and parly in inal British vessels employed in a contraband tos fic with the Spanish American territories, pay ment of which is made chiefly in British ma nufactures and negroes; and confiderable quantities of bullion, obtained by the fame means are annually remitted to Great Britain of which no precise accounts can be procured.

The General Account of IMPORTS into Jamai

ca will stand nearly as follows, viz.

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#### INTO JAMAICA.

From Great Britain, direct, according to a return of the Inspector General for 1787	£. 758,932	s. d.
From Ireland, I allow a moiety of the whole import	730,932	5 4
to the British West Indies, consisting of manufac- tures and salted provisions to the amount of	basili.	
£.277,000	138,500	
From Africa, 5,345 negroes *, at £.40 sterling each —(This is wholly a British trade carried on in	dini.	
hips from England)	213,800	
From the British Colonies in America (including about	Alex	
20,000 quintals of falted cod from Newfoundland)	30,000	
From the United States, Indian corn, wheat flour,		
rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships from Madeira and Teneriffe, in ships trading circuit-oully from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (exclusive of wines for re-exportation) at £.30 ster-	190,000	
ling the pipe	15,000	
from the Foreign West Indies, under the free-port law, &c. calculated on an average of three	Market A	
years †	150,000	
to the dampe not belong the second	TO THE	
Total - f.	1,490,232	5 4

Being an average of the whole number imported and retained in the island for ten years, 1778 to 1787, as returned by the Inspector General. The import of the last three years is much greater.

† From returns of the Inspector General. The following are the particulars for the

year 1787.

	A CONTRACTOR	3 3 7	
Cotton Wool	150	19	4,000 lbs.
Cacao			4,750 lbs.
Cattle, viz.		di.	S. S. Salar
Affes -	Delich S	43	146.00027
Horfes -	in mel	233	TOTAL STATE
Mules -	1 . 7	585	4.5
Oxen -		243	1-0 W
Sheep -		- 98	ny Spenie
		_	1,202 No.
Dying Woods		-	5,077 Tons.
Gum Guiacum			79 Barreli
Hides			4,537 No.
Indigo -		-	4,663 lbs.
Mahogany			9,993 Plank
Tortoife Shell		-	655 lbs.
Dollare			ca Sco Na

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BOOK II.

Some part of this estimate, however, is not so perfect as might be wished; inasmuch as in the accounts made up at the inspector general's office of goods exported from Great Britain, they reckon only the original cost, whereas the British merchant being commonly the exporter, the whole of his profits, together with the freight, insurance, and sactorage commissions in the island, should be taken into the account, be cause the whole are comprized in one charge against the planter. On the British supply, therefore, I calculate that twenty per cent. should be added for those items; which makes the sum to tal £.1,648,018. 14s. 4d. sterling money.

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After all, it is very possible that some error may have crept into the calculation, and the balance or furplus arifing from the excess of the exports, may be more or lefs than appears by the statement which I have given; but this is a confideration of little importance in a national view, inafmuch as the final profit arifing from the whole fystem, ultimately rests and centers in Great Britain; a conclusion which was well illustrated formerly by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, in a report made by them on the state of the British sugar colonies in the year 1734; an extract from which, as it ferves likewise to point out the progress of this island during the last fifty years, I shall present to the reader.

"The annual amount (fay their Lordships) of our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1732, as it stands computed in the custom-house books, appears to have been - £.147,675. 2. 3. The

CHAP.

The medium of our imports\*
from Jamaica, in the fame

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£.539,499 18 31.

So that the annual excess of our imports, in that period,

is no lefs than -391,824 15 113. "But it must not be imagined, that this exch is a debt upon Great Britain to the island of lamaica; a part of it must be placed to the acmunt of Negroes, and other goods, fent to the Spanish West Indies, the produce of which is returned to England by way of Jamaica; another part to the debt due to our African traders from he people of Jamaica, for the Negroes which repurchased and remain there for the service of the island; a third proportion must be placed to the account of our Northern Colonies on the continent of America, who discharge part of their balance with Great Britain by confignments from Jamaica, arifing from the provisions and lumber with which they supply that island; the remaining part of the excess in our importations from this colony, is a profit made upon our trade, whether immediately from Great Britain, or by way of Africa; and lastly, it is a consideration great importance in the general trade of Great Britain, that part of the fugar, and other merthandize which we bring from Jamaica, is re-exported from hence, and helps to make good our blance in trade with other countries in Europe." Having mentioned the trade which is carried on between this island and the Spanish territories America, some account of it in its present late, and of the means which have been adoptd by the British parliament to give it support, VOL. I.

The Custom House prices of goods imported, are conderably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one third.

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BOOK may not be unacceptable to my readers. It is fufficiently known to have been formerly an intercourse of vast extent, and highly advantage.

tercourse of vast extent, and highly advantage ous to Great Britain, having been supposed to give employment, about the beginning of the present century, to 4,000 tons of English ship. ping, and to create an annual vent of British goods to the amount of one million and a half in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American Subjects by endeavouring to compel them to trust folds to the mother-country, for almost every article of necessary confumption, at the very time the the was incapable of fupplying a fiftieth part of their wants, it is not furprifing that they had re courfe, under all hazards, to those nations of Europe which were able and willing to answer their demands. It was in vain, that the veffel employed in this traffic, by the English and others, were condemned to confiscation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and flavery the Spanish Americans supplied the loss by ve fels of their own, furnished with feamen so wel acquainted with the feveral creeks and bays, a enabled them to profecute the contraband with facility and advantage. These vessels received every possible encouragement in our islands contrary, it must be acknowledged, to the strice letter of our acts of navigation; but the British government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import befides bullion, but horned cattle mules, and horfes, (so necessary to the agricul ture of the fugar colonies) connived at the encouragement that was given them. The wade however, has been, for many years, on the de cline. Since the year 1748, a wifer and mor liberal policy towards its American dominions feems to have actuated the court of Madrid

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and the contraband traffic has gradually leffened, CHAP. in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulations has been relaxed. Nevertheless, the intercourse with this island, in Spanish vessels, was fill very confiderable fo late as the year 1764 About that period, directions were issued by the English ministry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmost stridness; and customhouse commissions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to feize all foreign vessels, without distinction, that should be found in the ports of our West Indian islands: measure which in truth was converting our mvy into guarda-costas, for the king of Spain. m consequence of these proceedings, the Spaniinds, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone in the year 1765, fell hort of the year 1763, £.168,000 sterling.

A wifer ministry endeavoured to remedy the michief, by giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels as usual; but the subject matter being canvassed in the British parliament, the nature and intent of those orders were so fully explained, that the Spanish court, grown wife from experience, took the alarm, and immediately adopted a measure, equally prompt and prudent, for counteracting them. This was, the aying open the trade to the islands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, to every province in Spain, and permitting goods of all kinds to be fent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. Thus the temptation to an illicit commerce with foreign nations, being in a great measure removed, there was reason to believe that the effect would cease with the cause.

Such, however, is the fuperiority or comparative cheapness of British manufactures, that it is

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BOOK probable the trade would have revived to a certain degree, if the British ministry of 1766 after giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels into our ports in the West Indies, had proceeded no further. But, in the following year, they obtained an act of parliament for opening the ports of Jamaica and Dominica, to all foreign vessels of a certain description. The motives which influenced the framers of this law. were undoubtedly laudable; they juftly confidered the recovery of the Spanish trade as a matter of the utmost consequence, and conclude ed that the traders would naturally prefer those ports in which their fafety was founded on law to places where their preservation depended only on the precarious tenure of connivance and favour. Other oftenfible reasons were assigned in support of the measure; but the jealousy of Spain was awakened, and the endeavours of the British parliament on this occasion, served only to encrease the evil which was meant to be redressed. By an unfortunate overfight, the collectors at the feveral British free-ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign veffels, and of the bullion which they imported, together with the names of the commanders. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were, by fome means, procured by the court of Spain, and the absolute destruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in transporting bullion into our islands, was the consequence. This intelligence I received foon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the custom-house in Jamaica) from a very respectable Spanish merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a recital of the fact, accompanied

with many shocking circumstances of unrelenting CHAP. leverity in the Spanish government. Informatiion of this being transmitted to the British miniltry, the former instructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late; -for what elfe could be expected, than that the Spaniards would namally thun all intercourfe with a people, whom neither the fafety of their friends, nor their own evident interest, was sufficient to engage to confi-

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The little trade, therefore, which now fubfifts with the subjects of Spain in America, is chiefly arried on by small vessels from Jamaica, which entrive to escape the vigilance of the guardaafas. But although, with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, Lam of pinion, that the free-port law has not fo fully nswered the expectation of its framers as might ave been wished; its provisions, in other respects, have been very beneficial. It has been tred against it, that it gives occasion to the atroduction of French wines, brandies, foap, ambrics, and other prohibited articles from dispaniola; and there is no doubt that small tessels from thence frequently claim the benefit of the free-ports, after having smuggled ashore, the various creeks and harbours of this island, thereno custom-houses are established, large quanities of brandy, to the great prejudice of the rum market, and other contraband goods. It may be urged too, that the permission given by the act to he importation of certain of the products of the oreign islands, is hurtful to the growers of the ame commodities in Jamaica. All this is dmitted; but, on the other hand, confidering he revenues and commerce of the empire at arge, as objects of superior concern to local incrests, it cannot be denied, that the woollen BOOK and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be supplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the easiest and cheapest terms possible. The quantities of these articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into the free-ports, are very confiderable. This fub. ject was thoroughly investigated by the British House of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired); and it being given in evidence that thirty thousand people about Manchester were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was best adapted: and that both French cotton and indigo he been imported from Jamaica at least thirty per cent. cheaper than the fame could have been procured at through France-the House, diffe garding all colonial opposition, came to a resolution, "that the continuance of free-ports in " Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the " trade and manufactures of the kingdom." The act was thereupon renewed, and has fine been made perpetual.

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But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the establishment of free-ports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea that those ports would become the great mart for supplying foreigners with negroes. I was faid, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own islands, every encouragement must be thrown out to the African merchant, to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was fo great as that of an opportunity of felling part of them to foreigners for ready money; a temptation, it was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means that a number would be imported fufficient both for the planter's use and for the foreign demand; and

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and it was added, that at all events the French CHAP.

Whether it be a wife and politic measure at my time to permit British subjects to supply breigners with African labourers, is a question hat may admit of dispute. I mean, at present confine myfelf only to a recital of facts; and t is certain that the very great demand for egroes in the Ceded Islands, for some years after head first took place, affected the Jamaica imon in a high degree; and in 1773, a circumance occurred which was thought to render a mewal of the free-port law a measure of indifenfable necessity. In that year the Spanish Mento Company at Porto-Rico obtained perillion to remove their principal factory to the avanna, and to purchase slaves in any of the eighbouring islands, transporting them to their wn fettlements in Spanish vessels. It was easily breseen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the hief cclonies in Spain, in which negroes were of in demand, would engage a preference om the purchasers; wherefore, that encouragebent might not be wanting, the British parliatent not only renewed the free-port law, but to took off the duty of thirty shillings sterling a ad, which, in the former act, was exacted on the aportation of negroes, and laid only a duty of two hillings and fix-pence, in lieu of it. The refult was that the import for the next ten years, exceeded hat of the ten years preceding, by no less than 2,213 negroes: and the export surpassed that of beformer period, to the number of 5,952. Such art, therefore, of this encreased export, as ent to the supply of the Spanish colonies, we ay attribute to the free-port law; for it is pro-able, from the circumstances stated, that the acient contraband fystem is nearly at an end. like manner it may be faid of the importation

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BOOK of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not II. made in foreign veffels, it will cease altogether; and thus, instead of infringing the navigation act, as some persons contend, the measure of opening the ports is strictly consonant to the spirit of that celebrated law; for, by furnishing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the encrease of our shipping.

Having now, to the best of my judgment and knowledge, furnished my readers with such particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the present trade and productions of Jamaica, I shall conclude with a concise display of its progress in cultivation at different periods,

for a century past.

By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, it appears, that the island at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. "The weather (obferves the governor) has been feafonable, and the fuccess in planting miraculous. Major General Bannister is not now very well, but by the next, he sends your lordship a pot of sugar, and writes you its story." It would feem from hence, that the cultivation of fugar was then but just entered upon, and that Blome, who afferts there were feventy fugar-works in 1670, was misinformed. So late as the year 1722, the island made only eleven thousand hogsheads of fugar, of fixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentic account until the year 1734, when the island contained 7,644 whites\*, 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this

The circumstance of the decrease of the white inhabitants for the first fixty years, may appear strange. It was owing without doubt, to the decline of the privateering trade, which gave full employment to the first adventurers.

fland to Great Britain, about this period, were CHAP. fated (as we have feen) by the Commissioners of Trade, at f. 539,499. 18. 3h sterling. Of the pariculars I have no account. In the year 1739. the export of fugar was 33,155 hogiheads.

In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period, were nearly about 35,000 hogheads of fugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, exclusive of smaller articles. The whole might

be worth £. 600,000 fterling.

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In 1768, the whites were supposed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the ax rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be less at that time than 1,400,000 sterling) were thefe:

## EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768,

	of Su-	Rum, of 110	Pimen-	Bags of Ginger, of 70lbs.	Cot- ton, of	Coffee,	Tons of Fuftick and Log- wood.
To Great Britain and Ireland To North America	54,181	11,127	13,116	2,551	2,211	1,491	4,035
Total —	55,761	15,551	13,854	3,171	2,463	4,203	4,035
(continued)	advert to	1	Ton	s of	1	1	

Feet of Mahoga- ny.	Tons of Lig. Vitæ.	Wood and Ebony.	Galls. of Melaffes.	Hides.	Miscella- neous Articles.
443,920	120	26	201,960	2,287	L. s. d. Value unknown.
868,000	120	26	201,960	2,287	

o Great Britain and Ireland North America

Cultivation,

making a great and rapid progress. In 1774, the exports were considerably increased: The following account of them is extracted from the books of office, kept within the island.

## EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1774.

Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Puns of Rum, of 1 logals	Bags of Coffee, of roo lbs.	Barrels of Indi- go, of 300 lbs	Bays of Ginger, of 70 lbs.	Pimento.	
76,344 1,960	17,348 8,726	3,684	437	2,348 579	13,797 553	
78,304	26,074	6,547	438	2,927	34,349	

To Great Britain and Ireland To North America

Total

## (continued)

Cases of ditto, of 300 lbs.	of 200	Tracement.	wood,	Feet of Maho- gany.	Hides
276 47	2,022		1,286 1 - 26 1	117,200	8,636
323	2,210	1,020	1,313	129,280	9,191

Th	Great	Britain	and	Ireland
		Ameri		
10	1400	Zuite.	-	

Total -

The amount of the fum total, according to the prices current, including the fame allowance for miscellaneous articles of which no precise account can be obtained as was allowed by the Inspector General for the year 1787, may be fairly stated at two millions of pounds sterling.

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But Jamaica had now nearly attained the me- CHAP. ndian of its prosperity \*; for early in the following year, the fatal and unnatural war which has terminated in the difmemberment of the empire. began its destructive progress; in the course of which, the blameless inhabitants of this and the rest of the British sugar islands, felt all its effects without having merited the flightest imputation on their conduct. Their fources of fupply for plantation necessaries were cut off, and protection fea, if not denied, was not given; fo that this produce was feized in its way to Great Britain, and confiscated without interruption or mercy. To fill up the measure of their calamities, the aner of the Almighty was kindled against them; no less than five destructive hurricanes in the pace of feven years, spread ruin and desolation broughout every island! The last of these terrile visitations in Jamaica, happened in 1786. ince that time, however, the feafons have been avourable; and the crops of 1788, 1789 and 190, were confiderable. May the inhabitants ethankful that it has thus pleased the Divine rovidence to remember mercy in judgment; nd may past misfortunes teach them those lessons fortitude, frugality, and forefight, which alays alleviate afflictions, and fometimes even onvert them into bleffings.

Nothing

1788 - 1,035,368 lbs. 1789 - 1,493,282

The greatest improvement which Jamaica has manified fince 1774, has been in the encreased number of its affee plantations. In that year, the export of coffee, as a have seen, was 654,700 lbs. In 1780, the crop having an shipped before the hurricane happened, the export was 35,392 lbs. For the three last years, of which I have any count, the export was as follows:

have obtained this account from the books of the naval offi-

BOOK II.

Nothing now remains but to state the value of this island, considered as British property; of which the estimate is formed as follows:—250,000 negroes, at fifty pounds sterling each, make twelve millions and a half; the landed and personal property to which these negroes are appured nant (including the buildings) are very fairly and moderately reckoned at double the value of the slaves themselves; making twenty-sive millions in addition to the twelve million sive hundred thousand pounds I have stated before; and, in further addition, the houses and property in the towns, and the vessels employed in the trade are valued at one million sive hundred thousand pounds more; amounting in the whole to thirty nine millions of pounds sterling.

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# APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

APPEN-DIX.

## NUMBER I.

RETURN of the number of SUGAR PLANTA-TIONS in the Island of JAMAICA, and the NEGRO SLAVES thereon, on the 28th March, 1789, distinguishing the several Parishes.

that the owns any	No. of Sugar Plant.	Negroes thereon.	no.	nber of	3.	is the
Parish of St. Mary St. Anne St. John	63 30 21	12,065 4,908 3,713	A	Negroes Ceenty.	Total of Su Plantacion	Total of N employed Caldivatio
St. Dorothy St. Thomas in the Vale Clarendon Vere St. Catharine	33 56 26 3	1,776 5,327 10,150 5,279 408		# 12 01000 2 020 1 1 00	0.00	
Total in the County of Mi	ddlefe		244	43,626		
Parish of St. Andrew St. George Portland Port Royal St. David St. Thomas in the East Kingston	24 14 23 3 12 83 Nil.	3,540 2,795 2,968 358 1,890 15,786		aigo ra vi rodu rodu ra bi	THE REPORT	
Total in the County of S	urry		159	27,337	200	
Parith of Trelawney St. James	83 67 69 62 26	15,692 12,482 13,330 11,219 5,112	(95)	d oo	のは大きなも	
Total in the County of Co		l		57,835	_	128,708

NUMBER

# NUMBER II.

An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica; drawn up in 1764, for the information of his Majesty's Ministers, by his Excellency William Henry Lyttelton \*, Governor and Commander in Chief of that Island.

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BOOK IT does not appear that there was any form of civil government established in the island of la maica before the Restoration; when Colone D'Oyley, who had then the chief command un der a commission from the Lord Protector, was confirmed in that command by a commission from king Charles, dated the 13th of February 1661.

His commission, which recites the king's defin to give all protection and encouragement to the people of Jamaica, and to provide for its feet rity and good government, empowers him to execute his trust according to fuch powers and authorities as are contained in his commission and the instructions annexed to it, and such should from time to time be given to him by his majesty, and according to such good, jul and reasonable customs and constitutions a were exercifed and fettled in other colonies or fuch other as should, upon mature advice and confideration, be held necessary and prope for the good government and fecurity of the land, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England.

<sup>\*</sup> Created Lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, in

It further empowers him to take unto him a APPENcouncil of twelve persons, to be elected by the DIX.

seeple according to the manner prescribed in the
instructions; and, by the advice of any five or
more of them, to constitute civil judicatories,
with power to administer oaths; to command all
the military forces in the island, and put in force
and execute martial law; to grant commissions,
with the advice of his council, for the finding
out new trades; and to do and persorm all other
orders which might conduce to the good of
the island. The instructions consist of fifteen
articles:

The first directs the commission to be publish-

ed, and the king proclaimed.

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The third regulates the manner of electing the council, eleven of which to be chosen indifferently, by as many of the officers of the army, planters, and inhabitants, as could be conveniently admitted to such election, either at one or more places; which said persons, with the secretary of the island, who was thereby appointed always to be one, were established a council, to advise and assist the governor in the execution of his trust, and five were to be a quorum.

The fourth and fifth articles direct the taking the oaths, and fettling judicatories for the civil thairs and affairs of the admiralty, for the peace of the island, and determining controversy.

The fixth directs the governor to discountenance vice and debauchery, and to encourage ministers, that Christianity and the protestant religion, according to the church of England, might have due reverence and exercise among them.

The feventh directs the fortifications at Cagway to be completed, and empowers him to compel,

BOOK compel, not only foldiers, but planters, to work

II. by turns.

The eighth directs him to encourage the plant ers, and to affure them of his majesty's protecti on: and, by the ninth, he is to cause an accurate survey to be made of the island.

By the tenth it is directed, that the secretary shall keep a register of all plantations and the bounds thereof; and that all persons shall be obliged to plant a proportionable part thereof

within a limited time.

The eleventh and twelfth direct all encourage ments to be given to such negroes and others a shall submit to the government, and to merchant and such as shall bring any trade there, and forbid monopolizing.

The thirteenth directs, that any vessel which can be spared from the desence of the island shall be employed in setching settlers from an other colonies, and that no soldiers be allowed

to depart without licence.

The fourteenth relates to the keeping of the stores and provisions sent to the island: and the sifteenth directs the governor to transmit from time to time, a state of the island, and all his proceedings.

In 1662, Lord Windsor was appointed governor of Jamaica, by commission under the greateal; which, besides containing the same power as those contained in Col. D'Oyley's commission directs, that, in case of Lord Windsor's dying or leaving the island, the government shall devolve on the council, or any seven of them, and appoints a salary of two thousand pounds prann. payable out of the exchequer.

His instructions consist of twenty-two articles. The first directs the publication of his com

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mission: and the second, the appointment of the APPEN; council, according to his commission and the instructions. But it must be observed upon this article, that no directions whatever are given, either in the commission, which refers to the instructions, or the instructions themselves, as to the mode in which the council shall be appointed;
BUTIT APPEARS, THAT THE GOVERNOR NAMED THEM HIMSELF.

The third, fourth, fifth, fixth, and seventh articles relate to the administering oaths, establishing judicatures, and providing for the secunity of the adjacent isles.

The eighth directs encouragement to be given to planters to remove to Jamaica from the other colonies.

The ninth directs 100,000 acres of land to be fet apart in each of the four quarters of the ifland as a royal demesse, a survey to be made, and a register kept of all grants, and a militia formed.

The tenth directs the planters to be encouraged, their lands confirmed unto them by grants under the great feal, and appoints 50,000 acres of land to the governor, for his own use.

The eleventh relates to the encouragement of an orthodox ministry: and the twelfth establishes a duty of five per cent. upon all exports after the expiration of seven years.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and fixteenth articles contain general directions as to the liberty and freedom of trade (except with the Spaniards) affistance to the neighbouring plantations, and the security of the island, by obliging planters to refide in bodies together, and in contiguous buildings.

The feventeenth directs, that, as an encounagement to men of ability to go to the island, no Vol. I.

BOOK offices shall be held by deputy; and gives a power II. to the governor of suspension or removal, in case of bad behaviour.

The nineteenth empowers the governor to grant royalties and manors, or lordships, to con-

tain less than five hundred acres.

The twentieth empowers the governor, with advice of the council, to call affemblies, to make laws, and, upon imminent necessity, to levy money; such laws to be in force two years, and no longer, unless approved of by the crown.

See the proclamation of the 14th of December, 1661, upon which the people of Jamaica have upon any occasion laid so much stress.

This proclamation was published by Lord Windsor upon his arrival; but nothing else material arises out of his short administration worth notice, for he staid but two months, and left the island, and the execution of his commission, to Sir Charles Lyttleton, who had been appointed lieutenant governor; and who governed with the advice of a council of twelve, appointed by himself, and called an assembly that made a body of laws, amongst which was one for raising a revenue.

Nothing, however, which appears to be material, as to the form of the conflitution, occurred during his administration, which continued about twenty months; when he was superfeded by the arrival of Sir Thomas Modyford, who was appointed governor in chief by a commission under the great seal, which empowered him either to constitute, by his own authority, a privy-council of twelve persons, or to continue the old one, and to alter, change, or augment it as he thought proper;

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per; to create judicatories; and make laws, or- APPEN.
ders, and conflitutions, provided they did not DIX.
extend to take away any right or freehold, or the
interest of any person in their rights or freeholds,
goods or chattels, and that they were transmitted
to his majesty for allowance or disapprobation.

He was further empowered to command and discipline all military forces, to use marrial law mon persons in military service, and establish anicles of war; to create courts of admiralty, according to fuch authority as he should receive from the lord high admiral; to erect forts and fortifications; to establish ports, cities, towns, boroughs, and villages; to create manors and lordships; to grant charters to hold fairs; to take surveys, and keep records of all grants of lands, under fuch moderate quiterents, fervices, and acinowledgments as he should think fit; and to prescribe terms of cultivation; and grants fo made under the feal, and enrolled, were to be good and valid against the crown; to grant commissions for finding out new trades; to pardon all offences, except murder and treason, and in those cases to reprieve for twelve months.

He was also empowered, with the advice of the majority of council, to frame a method for establishing general assemblies, and from time to time to call such assemblies together, and with their consent to pass all manner of laws, reserving to him a negative voice; as also, upon imminent occasions, to levy money. These laws not to extend to taking away any one's freehold, or to the loss of a member, and to be in force only two years, unless approved and confirmed by the crown.

This commission appoints a falary to the governor of one thousand pounds per annum, payable out of the exchequer.

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BOOK The instructions, which consist of twenty articles, relate to the encouragement to be given to planters to come from the other colonies; to the allowance fettled upon himfelf and the other of. ficers; and extend to most of the points contain. ed in Lord Windsor's instructions; but direct that the measure of fetting out the 400,000 acres, as a royal demesne, shall be suspended; that no duties shall be laid in the island upon the import or export of any goods for twenty-one years, nor shall any duty be laid here upon the produce of Jamaica for five years. the deid brow aft ment

> By these instructions it appears, that the crown allowed two thousand five hundred pounds per annum for the support of government; and what was wanted, over and above, was to be made good by a duty on strong liquors, either made or imported, to be levied by the authority of the

governor and council.

In July, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford iffued writs for electing two affembly-men for each parish; which assembly met in October follow-

It does not appear that this affembly fat above a month or two before they were diffolved; but, during their fessions, they passed a body of laws, which was transmitted to the lord chancellor, to be laid before the crown; but, not being confirmed, they would have expired at the end of two years; but (as I find it afferted by Lord Vaughan) the governor continued them in force to the end of his administration, by an order of council. I cannot, however, find this order upon record, but, after that time, a great many ordinances of the governor and council, in the nature and form of laws; in some of which it was declared, that they shall continue in force until another

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another affembly was called, and then to be con-APPENfirmed, altered, or repealed, as that affembly DIX. fhould fee convenient: but no other affembly was called during Sir Thomas Modyford's administration.

In 1670, Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled, and Sir Thomas Lynch appointed lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, with the same

powers as Sir Thomas Modyford had.

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On the 1st of December, 1671, he issued writs for calling an assembly, to consist of two persons for each parish; which met on the 8th of January, and sat till June following, when the governor dissolved them, after having passed a body of laws, which were transmitted to England, but were not consirmed.

In May, 1673, Sir Thomas Lynch called another affembly; but, upon their refusing to grant money for the fortifications, he dissolved it after string only a few days; and, in January sollowing, upon consideration that two years were almost expired since making the body of laws, and that his majesty had not been pleased to signify his royal consent to them, a new assembly was called, which met the 18th of February, and, on the 14th of March, a new body of laws was passed, which were transmitted to England; but, not being consirmed by the crown, expired at the end of two years.

On the 3d of December, 1674, Lord Vaughan was appointed governor of Jamaica. A council, confisting of twelve persons, was named in the commission, with power to him to expel or sufpend any of them, and, in case of vacancies, to still up the council to nine. He was also empowered to call affemblies, according to the usage of the island; and, with the council and affembly,

to

BOOK to pass laws, which laws were to be in force for II. two years, unless the crown's pleasure was in the mean time signified to the contrary, and no longer, except they were approved and confirmed within that time. In the passing of these laws, the governor was to have a negative voice, and to dissolve any assembly, as he should think proper.

Upon Lord Vaughan's arrival in his Government, he called an affembly, which met on the 26th of April, 1675, and paffed a new body of

laws.

It does not appear when this affembly was diffolved; but, in March, 1676-7, writs were iffued for a new affembly, which met on the 26th of that month; and, having paffed feveral other laws, they were diffolved on the 26th of July: and the laws paffed by both affemblies having been transmitted to England, the council took them into their consideration, and, after frequent deliberations upon them, and many alterations proposed, they were referred, with the council's observations upon them, to the attorney general to consider thereof, and to form a new body of laws for the good government of this island.

With these laws, the council took into consideration the state and constitution of Jamaica, and made the reports upon it hereunto annex-

ed, vide Documents, No. 1, 2.

These reports having been confirmed, a commission passed the great seal, constituting Lord Carlisle governor of Jamaica, by which, and by the instructions annexed thereto, (wide No. 3, 4) the form of government proposed in the council's report was adopted and established.

Upon Lord Carlifle's arrival in his government, he found the people very much diffatisfied with and averse to his new form of govern-

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These letters and papers being taken into conideration by the council, as also a report thereon by the committee, the council, on the 4th of April, 1679, made the order, No. 11; and, on the 28th of May following, the annexed report, No. 12, was prefented to his majesty, and, being, pproved, was transmitted to the Earl of Carlifle, with the annexed letter, No. 13.

Upon receipt of these papers, the Lord Carlife communicated them to the affembly, who presented an address in answer to the report of the 28th of May; which address was transmitted with council by Lord Carlifle. Vide No. 14, 15,

16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

On the 5th of March, 1679-80, the council took into confideration the letters received from the larl of Carlifle; and the annexed extracts (No. at to 38, inclusive) of their proceedings will shew their feveral refolutions and directions in confe-

wence thereof.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge what motives could have induced the counal, after they had shewn so much firmness and resolution to support the rights of the crown, by establishing in Jamaica the Irish constitution, to give the point up, as it appears they did by the annexed explanatory commission to Lord Carlisle, No. 39, which contains the same power of makmg laws in affembly as is now given to the goremor of Jamaica, and which, from that time, has been minutely the fame; excepting only, that, in 1716, the governor was directed, by intructions, not to pass any laws that should repeal alaw confirmed by the crown, without a clause of suspension, or first transmitting the drast of a bill; and, in 1734, this limitation was extended

BOOK to all laws for repealing others, though such re-II. pealed law should not have been confirmed by the crown \*.

Neither of these orders are enforced, except in the case of private bills, the affembly having constantly refused to admit suspending clauses in any public act, and the crown has long since given up the point. It is impossible to quit this Historical Account, without lamenting that its able and accomplished author should have committed himself as he has done in the concluding paragraph. The wicked attempt to introduce an arbitrary form of government, he terms supporting the just rights of the crown, and seems very seriously to lament that the privy council had not summers and resolution to persist in their project.

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# DOCUMENTS

ANNEXED TO THE

## HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

#### NUMBER I.

The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations having this day prefented to the Board the ensuing Report; viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE having, according to the trust reposed in us in re-APPENfrence to your majesty's plantations, taken in consideraDIX.

ton the present state and government of the island of Jamaica, particularly such matters as, from the nature of affairs
as they now stand there, we have judged necessary to be
recommended to the Right honourable the Earl of Carlisse,
whom your majesty has been pleased to nominate and constitute governor of the said island; and having, after seveal meetings, agreed upon the following particulars, we
most humbly crave leave to lay them before your majesty,
by your royal determination.

The first point that did occur most worthy to be consisted by us was, the power and manner of enacting laws for the civil, military, and ecclesiastical government; and, won taking a view of what has been practised since your majesty's happy restoration in the legislative, we find, that the methods and authorities for the framing and ordaining

the

BOOK the faid laws have been only fuch as were directed by you royal commission unto your majesty's several governors, or prescribed by the instructions given them from time to time; and that as the constitution and exigency of affair have often changed, fo your majesty has thought fit varie oufly to adapt your royal orders thereunto; and, by the last commission, given unto the Lord Vaughan, your majest was pleafed to empower his lordship, with the advice of your majesty's council, from time to time to funmor general affemblies of freeholders, who have authority, with the advice and confent of the governor and council to make and ordain laws for the government of the island which laws are to be in force for the space of two years except in the mean time your majesty's pleasure be fig nified to the contrary, and no longer, unless they be confirmed by your majesty within that time. Having, there fore, directed our thoughts towards the confequences and effects which have been produced, or may arife, from this authority derived unto the faid freeholders and plant ers, which we observe to have received a daily increase by the refolutions they have taken, less agreeable to you majesty's intention, we do most humbly offer our opinions, that the laws transmitted by the Lord Vaughan, which are now under confideration in order to be enacted by your majesty, may be entrusted in the hands of the Ear of Carlisle, who, upon his arrival in the island, may offer them unto the next affembly, that they may be confente unto as laws originally coming from your majefy; in that, for the future, no legislative affembly be called with out your majesty's special directions; but that, upo emergencies, the governor do acquaint your majerty b letters, with the necessity of calling such an affem bly, and pray your majefty's confent and directions for their meeting; and, at the same time, do present unt your majesty a scheme of such acts as he shall think h and necessary, that your majesty may take the same int confideration, and return them in the form wherein you majesty shall think fit that they be enacted; that the go vernor, upon receipt of your majesty's commands, shall then summon an assembly, and propose the said laws to their confent, fo that the same method in legislative mat ters be made use of in Jamaica as in Ireland, ac cording to the form prescribed by Poyning's law; and

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therefore, the present style of enacting laws, By the APPENgroor, council, and representatives of the commons of DIX. bld, be converted into the style of, Be it enacted by hing's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent

the general affembly.

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We are further of opinion, that no escheats, sines, settures, or penalties, be mentioned in the said laws be applied to the public use of the island; and that is majesty do instruct your governor to dispose thereof the support of the government. It is also our opin, that in all laws for levying of money, and raising public revenue, the clauses whereby the said levies are repriated unto the public use of the island, without any main made of your majesty, or unto your majesty for said public use, are so far derogatory to your majesty's too sovereignty, that they ought to be, for the suture, and and made agreeable to the style of England.

We do likewise offer it unto your majesty as necessary, no minister be received in Jamaica without licence in the right reverend the lord bishop of London; and mone having his lordship's licence be rejected, with-sufficient cause alledged; as also, that in the direction all church affairs, the minister be admitted into the

active vestries.

And whereas it has upon fome occasions proved inconion; that the members of the council have been conited by your majesty's commission; we are of opiin, that, for the suture, they be only named in the inidions of the governor; for the strengthening of whose
ionity under your majesty we do offer, that he may
it power to suspend any of the said members, if he
just cause, without receiving the advice and consent
the council; and also, that none of the said so suspended, or by your majesty's order displaced, from that
the may be permitted to be received into the general
imply.

and whereas nothing can contribute more to the welof your majesty's island, than that all means be
and out for the increase of trade; we do offer, for the
muragement thereof, that a mint be allowed in Jamaica,
such manner that no prejudice do arise unto your
jesty's other dominions, or that what bullion is brought
a thence may be coined here in England; provided

thal

B O O K that all fuch coins may bear your majesty's royal super II. fcription, and not be imposed in payment elsewhere.

All which, &c.

FINCH,
DANBY,
WORCESTER,
ESSEX,
FAUCONBERRY,
CRAVEN,
H. COVENTRY.
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His majesty, taking the same in consideration, was pleased to approve thereof; and did order, that the Right honourable M Secretary Coventry do prepare a commission and instructions for his majesty's roy signature, for the Earl of Carlisle, according to the tenor of the said report.

#### NUMBER II.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 15th of February, 1677-8.

PRESENT, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council

Upon reading this at the board, a report from the Right honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, in the word following:

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING received on the 12th of January last past from the Right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry, draft of a commission and instructions for the Earl of Carlisse, whom your majesty has appointed to be you governor of Jamaica; and having, after several addition and alterations, remitted the same unto Mr. Secretar Coventry **fuper** 

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dition cretar ventr Coventry, on the 2d instant, we crave leave to offer to APPENour majesty the most material points which did occur DIX.

If. As we are of opinion that all members of cound in Jamaica may, for the more easy passing of laws, east the into the assembly, if duly elected by the free-blers; so we cannot but advise your majesty, that as all the members of the said council suspended by our majesty's governor, as the members displaced by our majesty, may be rendered incapable during which

bension of being admitted into the assembly.

al. That although your majesty has, by an order of a 16th of November last past, thought fit that no assembly be called without your majesty's especial leave and rections; we think it very important, for your majesty's rice and safety of the island, that in case of invasion, dellion, or some other very urgent necessity, your mady's governor may have power, with the consent of the sembly, to pass acts for raising of money, to answer the

rations arifing by fuch urgent necessities.

That whereas hitherto, within your majefty's island planaica, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy have not an imposed on persons that bear any part of the government, except the members and officers of the council, and lipidges and justices; so, for the prevention of suture conveniencies, and greater assurance of loyalty towards are majesty, we are humbly of opinion, that all persons extend into the assembly shall, before their sitting, take a oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which your masty's governor shall commissionate sit persons, under the alos the island, to administer unto them, and that, withtaking the said oaths, none shall be capable of sitting, though elected.

We have likewise, pursuant to your majesty's orders, pared a body of laws, such as the Right honourable the all of Carlisle may be empowered to carry with him, to offer unto the assembly of Jamaica for their cont. Whereas we do not find since your majesty's happy toration, that any laws transmitted from your majesty's mations have been confirmed by your majesty, either the great seal of England, or any other signification your majesty's pleasure (the act of sour and a half per

cent

BOOK cent. in the Charaibee islands only excepted, which confirmed by the order of council) and the intended thod of enacting laws in Jamaica bath not as yet been in practice; we humbly crave your majefty's royal de mination, whether the fald laws shall pass only by order your majesty in council, or under the great seal of Ed them unto your royal view.

as the members

His Majesty was pleased to order, that I Secretary Coventry do prepare Lord Carlis le mico na commission and instructions concerning the matters accordingly: and as for the laws the faid island, his majesty, by an order the board, hath been pleased this day to clare his pleasure, that they shall pass un the great feal of England.

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Extract of King Charles the Second's Commission to of loyalty standed

affeld, on perfore that hear any part of the govern-

soly to rais ade for failing of money, to answer the

AND we do hereby give and grant unto you, with advice and confent of the faid council, full power and thority, from time to time, as need shall require, to su mon or call general affemblies of the freeholders and pla ers within the faid island, and other the territories under y government, in fuch manner and form as hath been t merly practifed and used in the said island of Jamaica

And our will and pleasure is, that the persons the upon duly elected, and having before their fitting to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, (which you commissionate fit persons, under the seal of our island administer, and without taking which none shall be pable of fitting, though elected) shall be called and h the general affembly of the faid island of Jamaica, other the territories thereon depending; and shall have power and authority to agree and confent unto all i den der En

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and ordinances for the public peace, wellfare, and APPENand government of the faid island, and other the territories DIX.

aron depending, and the people and inhabitants thereof,
if such others as shall refort thereunto, and for the beare of our heirs and successors, as having been by you,
in advice and consent of the said council, framed and
instituted unto us, in order to be here enacted, by our
ring our consent thereunto, shall be by us approved
if remitted unto you under our great seal of England;
which said statutes, laws, and ordinances, are to be by
in framed as near as conveniently may be to the laws
if statutes of our kingdom of England.

And we do hereby, nevertheless, authorize and emwer you, in case of invasion, rebellion, or some very not necessity, to pass an act or acts, by and with the const of the general assembly, without transmitting the same if to us, to raise money within the said island, and the mitories within your government, to answer the occa-

as arising by such urgent necessities.

And we give you likewise full power, from time to
m, as you shall judge it necessary, to dissolve all geneassemblies, as aforesaid.

#### NUMBER IV.

trail of King Charles the Second's Instructions to the Earl of Carlifle.

AND whereas by our commission we have directed a for the future, no general assembly be called without our special directions; but that, upon occasion, you acquaint us by letter with the necessity of calling such assembly, and pray our consent and directions for their ming; you shall, at the same time, transmit unto us, in the advice and consent of the council, a draft of a acts as you shall think fit and necessary to be passed, a we may take the same into our consideration, and a me them in the form we shall think fit to be enactin and upon the receipt of our commands, you shall a summon an assembly, and propose the said laws for a consent.

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BOOK And accordingly we have ordered to be delivered un you herewith, a certain body of laws, for the use of or faid island, framed in pursuance of other laws transmitte unto us by former governors, with fuch alterations a amendments as we have thought fit, with the advice our privy-council here; which, upon your arrival in o faid island, you shall offer unto the next assembly, the they may be confented to and enacted as laws original coming from us.

We are willing, nevertheless, that in case of invalid rebellion, or some very urgent necessity, you pass an a or acts, with the confent of the general affembly, with out transmitting the same first unto us, to raise mon within the faid island, and the territories depending then on, to answer the occasions arising by such urgent nece

fities. And you shall take care that the present style of enach ing laws, By the governor, council, and representatives the commons affembled, be converted into the style of, Be enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and wi the consent of the general affembly.

#### NUMBER V

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to Mr Secretary Coventry.

I HAVE spoken with several of the council, and in fome of them much diffatisfied at the alterations in t laws and manner of paffing them, particularly at the latt part of the clause in the militia bill: " but that in "things he may, upon all occasions or emergencies, " as captain-general and governor in chief, according " and in pursuance of all the powers and authoriti " given unto him by his majefty's commission; any this " in this case, or any other, to the contrary in anyw " notwithstanding;" which they are jealous of, left the thereby they shall make it legal to execute all instruction that either are or shall be fent to me, or any other succeed ing governor; which scruple might easily be avoided, b that the great feal being affixed to the laws, I have

power to make alteration, which I might have done both APPENto their fatisfaction and the prefervation of the king's DIX.

rights. The act for the revenue, too, I fear will not
without difficulty pass; but I shall endeavour all I can to
bring them to pass, for which I have greater inducements than
my being here, without any hopes from the present state
of the treasury, which is exhausted and in debt for their
new fortifications.

### NUMBER VL

Copy of a letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry from the Earl of Carlifle.

St. Jago, 11th September, 1678.

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THE affembly met on the 2d inftant, and, I find, are 6 diffatisfied with the alteration of the government, that I question whether they will pass any of these laws: they have objections against several of them; as the act for the revenue that is perpetual, and may be diverted; they are nettled at the expression in the preamble, that the revenue was raised by the governor and council; and though they cannot deny it to be truth, yet they say that council was elected by the people, and, though continued under the name of a council, yet was in effect an assembly or re-

presentatives of the people.

I have given into their hands a copy of that act and fourteen more, and gave them liberty to compare them with the original. The act of militia and fome others I keep by me, till I fee what they will do with those they have. All the acts are not yet transcribed; for but one man can write at a time, and they are bulky; but I have enough to keep them employed. The speaker came to me on Saturday, to defire liberty to adjourn for a few days, which I consented to, and they adjourned till Thursday morning. Lieutenant Colonel Beeston is speaker, who I recommended to them upon Sir H. Morgan's assurances that he would behave himself well. He hath the general repute of an honest and discreet gentleman, though he signed the order about the privateer, at which so much Voz. I.

BOOK offence was taken; but I am fatisfied he was no further II. faulty, than in complying with the directions of the affembly: and I the rather proposed him (whom they had a mind to choose) to gain the point quietly of recommending, which my Lord Vaughan, I am told, neglected to do.

The affembly appointed a committee to compare the laws with their former: it is faid they differ in many things, especially from these laws last sent from Lord Vaughan, which are most usefully framed for their pre-

fent benefit.

Popular discourses here as well as in England; and I find a few men's notions have taken such place with the leading men of the affembly, that they rather set themselves to frame arguments against the present constitution than to accommodate things under it. I cannot yet tell you what course I shall take to remove this difficulty but I will do the best I can. I find one of the council more faulty in this than any man in the island, but an unwilling to name him till I have tried the utmost to reclaim him.

Whilst we are here busy about small matters, I doub your hands are full of greater, and may therefore sorge us. We hear the French and Dutch are agreed.

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Your most humble Servant,

CARLISLE

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#### NUMBER VII.

Extract of letter from the Earl of Carlifle to the Committee, 24th October, 1678.

My Lords,

I HAVE met with the difficulties here I foresaw, but could neither avoid nor prevent, in England. The general affembly meeting on the 2d of September last, I recommended and sent to them the several bills I brought over under the great seal of England, for their consent to be enacted; but being much distatissied at the new frame

of government, and their lofing their deliberative part APPEN of power in altering and amending laws, they would not DIX. nals any one of them but threw them all out; but prepared an address, with a bill of impost upon wines and other strong liquors for one year, without giving me notice thereof, in fuch terms and form as was not fit for me to pass it: but afterwards changing the style of enacting, a directed in my inftructions, with fome other amendments to this bill, the public necessities of the island, having contracted many debts from new fortifications and falaries already due, requiring it, I gave the royal affent; and then, on the 12th this inftant October, I diffolved them. My earnest suit to all your lordships is, that you'll please to have me in your thoughts, and the present state of this colony under your lordships' consideration, for some expedient which may be elucidatory to the power given me by my commission and instructions, which may quiet the minds of persons generally diffatisfied in this island, which is most certainly under the greatest hopes of improvement of all the islands in the West Indies, and therefore most ht for to be encouraged, with the king's countenance and support, with good and acceptable laws.

What bills I shall send to Mr. Secretary Coventry, I pay may be dispatched speedily when brought before your lordships, and received; an order to be passed through all offices without delay, being in part of what is so very much wanting towards the support of the good government

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# NUMBER VIII.

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Copy of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to the Committee,

My Lords,

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A FORTNIGHT ago I gave you an account upon what terms I had parted with the affembly. I have fince thoroughly confidered of what might in this place most conduce to his majesty's service, and could not think of any better expedient than to send the bearer, Mr. Atkinson, to wait upon your lordships. He was secretary to Sir Thomas Lynch and my Lord Vaughan, and has been enough

B O O K enough acquainted with all my proceedings fince my arrival, fo as perfectly able to fatisfy your lordships in any thing you may defire to know concerning the place, and to lay before you all the several interests of his majesty re-

lating to it.

My Lords, I find that the present form appointed for the making and passing of laws, considering the distance of the place, is very impracticable, befides very distasteful to the fense of the people here, as you may observe by the affembly's address to me; and if your lordships will please to move his majesty to send me a general instruction to call another affembly, and to re-enact and make what laws are fit for this place, I could then order the matter to conclude effectually to his majesty's service. I have, by Mr. Atkinson, fent you the drafts of such bills as are the most fundamental, and chiefly concern his majesty's interest; and I do affure you, that I will not in any material point vary from them. He will, when your lordships order him to attend you, lay them all before you, and, I believe, give your lordships such thorough satisfaction, that you will rest assured that what I defire is for his majesty's service, and that I shall be enough enabled by it to fettle every thing upon fo good a foundation, that neither his majefy nor your lordships will ever repent of having made any deference to my opinion: in it, my lords, much fuccess depends upon the dispatch, and of the circumstances Mr. Atkinfon will give you an account. His bufiness is wholly to attend your lordships, and, I believe, he will always be in the way. He has prayed me to intercede with your lordships, to excuse what errors he may commit, as having been a West-Indian for these eight years past, and do on his behalf beg that favour of your lordships; but hope that he will prove fo discreet, as to give your lordships no manner of offence. I thought it the readiest and best way to have all things rightly understood, and do hope that iffue will be produced from it.

I am, your Lordships'
Most humble, and obedient servant,

CARLISLE

St. Jago de la Vega, Nov. 15, 1678.

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#### NUMBER IX.

Extract of a liter from the Earl of Carlisse to Mr. Secretary
Coventry.

ON the 2d of September laft, the general affembly APPENmet; but under so much diffatisfaction, from the new DIX. frame of government, and their losing their deliberative part of power in framing, altering, and amending laws, that they spent near a fortnight very uneasily about some of the laws, and would have begun with the bill of revenue to have thrown that out first, as a mark of their difallowing the new method of government, being so highly incensed that they were near questioning the king's power and authority to do it; infomuch, that I, taking the maintenance thereof to be in my charge, and finding some of the council equally disgusted at the change of government, and foreseeing that it was like to encourage discontent in the affembly, to take them off, and leave the affembly upon humour by themselves, I thought it absolutely necessary to put this question to each of the counsellors, in these words: "Do you submit, and consent to this present form of government which his majesty hath been pleased to order for this island of Jamaica?" To which the chief-justice, Colonel Long, refused to answer, with two more, Colonel Charles Whitfield and Colonel Thomas The chief-justice, being a man of very great influence upon the affembly, I prefently suspended, and gave the other two (less dangerous) till morning to consider on it; and then the chief-justice sent to me his submission under his hand, and Col. Freeman submitted; but Col. Charles Whitfield, otherwise a very good man, went away into the country.

The affembly received and examined all the laws I brought over, and drew up their reasons against passing them; of each, many were very frivolous, and the best was, because they were not compared with and amended by the last laws of my Lord Vaughan's, now with you, and received some two days before my coming away, the sleet then staying in the Downs, and my departure much pressed upon the expectation of war. These reasons against

the

BOOK the revenue bill I answered individually; but no means or endeavours either I myself, the council, or both could use, would prevail with them to pass any one of them; and I look upon this to be their chief reason, that by not pass. ing them they might the better shew their dislike of that new way of government; though they urge this for their enjoying a power of altering and amending laws, the neceffity of changing them as often as occasions do require, and the diftance from this place is fo great, that before the king's approbation can be obtained to a law, and returned hither, it may be fit for the public good either to lay that law aside, or much to change and alter it; and, indeed, in this part of the objection I think they are in the right, for that they will want temporary laws till the colony be better grown: and, upon thorough confideration of the whole matter in this part, I am of opinion it is very adviseable and requisite that there should be leave and power from the king to make laws (not relating to his majefy's power or prerogative) to endure for some term till his royal approbation may be had therein; and of this I do earnefly entreat your care.

Having used all methods possible with the several members apart, and jointly with the body of the affembly, for the paffing the laws, I was, after many conferences and debates, and feveral adjournments, frustrated, and they threw them all out. Afterwards, in a full body, by the speaker they gave me the inclosed address, and presented to me a bill for a public impost, prepared without giving me notice thereof, in such terms and forms as was not ht for me to pass it in; but at last in some part consented to fuch amendments as I and the council thought fit, changing the ftyle of enacting as directed in my instructions, but restraining it to one year, from a fear that, if they should have made it perpetual, they should be affembled no more, but be governed by governor and council as they were in Col. D'Oyley's time, when they enacted laws, not only for the revenue but other occasions, by governor and council, and some part of Sir Charles Lyttelton's time, as appears by our council-book upon the place; and Sir Thomas Modyford had an inftruction to continue this revenue by order of governor and council, the affembly in his life-time passing it perpetual; and in Sir Thomas Lynch's time the affembly made it perpetual, but, for want of the king's consent, they both are fallen; but

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now, the affembly fay, they are of a better understand-APPENing than to give the reins out of their own hands. DIX.

To this bill, the island's affairs being under great preffures from public debts contracted for the new fortifications and salaries already due, I gave the royal assent; and

then, being the 12th instant, I dissolved them.

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Which having done, and not being satisfied with the behaviour of the afsembly in their proceedings in relation to the government I stood charged with, most of them being in military trusts, I put this question to each of them: "Do you submit to this form of government which "his majesty hath been pleased to order for this island of "Jamaica?" to which several of them neither gave me a dutiful nor chearful answer; some did, and at this some are much dissatisfied.

#### NUMBER X.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the members chosen by his majesty's writ to be the general affembly for this his island of Jamaica, do, with a great deal of thankfulness, acknowledge the princely are which his majesty hath been ever pleased to have of this his colony, and of which your excellency hath likewife given to us very late and fresh affurances: and, in obedience to his majesty's commands, we have perused the several bills which your excellency sent us; and, having duly examined the matters contained in them, we could not give our confent to any of them, there being divers fundamental errors, which we particularly observed, and did cause them to be entered in our journal; and from the confideration of them, we cannot but reflect, and do humbly beg your excellency to represent unto his most facred majesty, the great inconveniencies which are like to redound unto this his island by this method and manner of passing of laws, which is absolutely impracticable, and will not only tend to the great discouragement of the prelent planters, but likewise put a very fatal stop to any further profecution of the improvement of this place, there being nothing that invites people more to fettle and remove their family and stocks into this remote part of the

BOOK the world, than the affurance they have always had of being governed in such manner as that none of their rights should be lost, so long as they were within the dominions of the kingdom of England: nor can we believe that his majesty would have made this alteration, had he been truly informed of his own interests, and of that which is proper and natural for the constitution of this island.

My lord, you that are now our governor, and here upon the place, cannot but diffinguish both, and plainly fee that which, at great distance, is impossible to be known, being always distinguished with the false colours of interest and defign. It is to you, therefore, we address ourselves; and do humbly beg you to affure his majesty, which we do from the bottom of our hearts unfeignedly declare, that we are his true, faithful, and loyal subjects. In the next place, fir, we humbly beg you to lay before his majefty the true condition of this island, and the several circumstances wherein it stands: the situation and natural advantages of the place will very probably, by God's bleffing, in a very fhort time, make it very confiderable. It were pity, therefore, that any stop in its infancy should be put to it, which may hinder its future growth, and disappoint those hopes which his majesty hath ever had, and which will no doubt of it come to pass, that, if this island be encouraged by good government and wholesome laws, it will effectually serve very many interests, both of his majesty's crown and the nation's trade.

Sir, the present form of the government, as it is now appointed, has these plain and manifest inconveniencies

in it:

Ist. That the distance of this place renders it impossible to be put in practice, and does not in any manner fall under the same consideration as Ireland does, from which we conclude, the example is taken,

2d. The nature of all colonies is changeable, and confequently the laws must be adapted to the interest of the

place, and must alter with it,

3d. It is no small satisfaction that the people, by their representatives, have a deliberative power in the making of laws; the negative and barely resolving power being not according to the rights of Englishmen, and practised no where but in those commonwealths where aristocracy prevails.

4th. This

4th. This manner of form of the government brings APPENall things absolute, and puts it into the power of a governor to do what he pleases, which is not his majesty's intereft, and may be a temptation for even good men to com-

mit great partialities and errors.

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gh. The method which has been always used, both in his island and all other colonies, in the making of laws, was a greater security to his majesty's prerogative than the refent form; for a governor durft not confent to any thing minft his interest; and if he did, the fignification of the ing's pleasure determined the laws, so that his majesty had hereby a double negative.

Thus, fir, we have truly laid before your excellency ur real fense; and do hope that your excellency, being broughly satisfied of the mischiefs which will certainly sie to this place from the reasons we have given, will in at manner represent our condition to his majesty, that he my be thereby induced to give an inftruction to your stellency, to pass such laws as are municipal and fit for us, m in the fame manner which has ever been practifed in is island and other his majesty's colonies; we having no the claim in it than to express our duty to the king, and w unfeigned fervice and gratitude to your excellency, mediating that which is so much for his majesty's the island's interest.

And we do here likewise present unto your excellency bill for the raifing a public impost unto his majesty, his and fucceffors, for the support of this his governent; and do hereby beg your excellency to accept of it a real demonstration of our loyalty to our prince and wice to your excellency, with affurance that we shall, occasions, be ready to express such further testionies of the same as may be suitable to our duty and

legiance.

NUMBER

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BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XI.

At the court at Whitehall, 4th of April, 1679.

PRESENT, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council

Whereas the Right honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations did the day make report unto his Majesty in Council

THAT having, in pursuance of his majesty's order confidered the present state and constitution of Jamaic and the government thereof, as it is fettled by his majefly command, their lordships see no reasons why any alter tions should be made in the method of making laws a cording to the usage of Ireland, for which their lordhi are preparing reasons to evince the necessity and legali of the fame. And that whereas a ship is now lying in the Downs, bound for that island, their lordships advise the the Right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do, by the conveyance, inform the Earl of Carlifle of his majely pleasure herein, with directions that all things be disposed to this end; and that, in the mean time, the present la enacted by Lord Vaughan be continued by proclamation or otherwife, until his majesty's pleasure be further know as also that his lordship do, by the first conveyance, se fend over an authentic copy of the act for a public impo lately enacted there, according to his lordship's instruction for matters of that nature.

His majesty, having thought sit to approve ther of, was pleased to order, as it is hereby o dered, that the Right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do signify his majesty's please unto the Earl of Carlisse, according to the faid report.

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APPEN-DIX.

# NUMBER XII.

England ; where lawer und

At the Court at Whitehall, the 28th of May, 1679.

MISENT, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas there was this day read at the Board a Report from the Right honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, in the words following; viz.

May it please your Majesty,

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WE have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, mered into the present state of your majesty's island of maica, in order to propose such means as may put an a to the great discouragement your majesty's good substant the lie under by the unsettled condition thereof, octioned by the resultant of the laws lately offered by the arl of Carlisle to the assembly for their consent; at which recedings distartisfaction appears to have risen in the maner following:

By the commission granted by your majesty unto the ord Vaughan and feveral preceding governors, it was our royal pleasure to entrust the assembly of Jamaica with power to frame and enact laws, by the advice and connt of the governor and council; which laws were to entinue in force for the space of two years, and no longbut so it hath happened, that your majesty, finding the conveniencies which did attend that power and manner making laws, by the irregular, violent, and unwarrantble proceedings of the affembly, was pleafed, with the trice of your privy council, to provide, by the Earl of arlille's commission, that no laws should be enacted in amaica, but fuch as, being framed by the governor and puncil, and transmitted to your majesty for your royal apobation, were afterwards remitted to Jamaica, and conated unto by the affembly there; and, in pursuance thereBOOK of, the Earl of Carlifle carried over a body of laws under the great feal of England; which laws, upon his lord fhip's arrival there, have been rejected by the general a fembly, upon grounds and reasons contained in an address to your majesty's governor, and in divers letter

received from his lordship in that behalf.

Ift. In the first place, we find, they are unsatisfied with the clause in the militia bill, whereby it is provided, the the governor may, upon all occasions or emergencies, a as governor in chief, according to and in pursuance of a the powers and authorities given unto him by your mighty's commission; fearing that thereby they shall make legal to execute all instructions that either are or shall be sent your majesty's governor.

2dly. They have likewise rejected the bill for raising public revenue, as being perpetual, and liable (as they have

to be diverted.

3dly. It is objected that the faid laws contain divergent fundamental errors.

4thly. That they were not compared with, and amend by, the last laws sent over by Lord Vaughan.

5thly. That the diffance of the place renders the pr fent method of paffing laws wholly impracticable.

6thly. That the nature of all colonies is changeable, a consequently the laws must be adapted to the interest the place, and alter with it.

7thly. That thereby they lose the satisfaction of a del

berative power in making laws.

8thly. That this form of government renders your g

vernor absolute.

othly. That by the former method of enacting law your majefty's prerogative was better fecured.

These being the objections and pretences upon which the assembly has, with so much animosity, proceeded reject those bills transmitted by your majesty, we cannot but offer, for your majesty's information and satisfaction such a short answer thereunto as may not only give testimony of the unreasonableness of their proceeding but also surnish your governor, when occasion shall serve with such arguments as may be sit to be used in justification of your majesty's commission and powers grant unto him.

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If. It is not without the greatest presumption that they APPENpabout to question your majesty's power over the militia DIX.
That island, fince it has been allowed and declared, even
the laws of this your kingdom, that the sole supreme goment, command, and disposition of the militia, and of
solves by sea and land, and of all forts and places of
rength, is residing in your majesty, within all your math's realms and dominions.

ad. The objection made against the bill for the public renue hath as little ground, since its being perpetual is more than what was formerly offered by them unto your refly, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, in time measure and proportion as is now proposed; nor at the diverted, since provision is thereby expressly the, that the same shall be for the better support of that measures; besides, that it is not suitable to the duty and whethy of subjects, to suspect your majesty's justice or refor the government of that colony, whose settlement appeler vation have been most particularly carried on by a majesty's tender regard, and by the great expence of mown treasure.

It cannot with any truth be faid, that these laws conmany and great errors, nothing having been done win but in pursuance of former laws, at divers times and by the affembly, and with the advice of your malys privy-council, as well as the opinion and approbation your attorney-general, upon perusal of the same.

th, To the fourth objection it may be answered, that, anything had been found of moment or importance in that parcel of laws transmitted by the Lord Vaughan, a majesty's tender care of your subjects welfare would be been such as not to have sent those bills imperfect, or settive in any necessary matter.

sh. As to the distance of the place, which renders (as y say) the present method of making laws altogether racticable, your majesty having been pleased to regulate same, by the advice of your privy-council, according the usage of Ireland, such care was taken as that no law the beauting which might conduce to the well-being the plantation, and that nothing might be omitted which all former governments had been thought necessary; nor takely that this colony is subject to greater accidents your kingdom of Ireland, so as to require a more

frequent

BOOK frequent and sudden change of laws in other cases than such as are already provided for upon emergencies, or in other manner than is directed by your majesty's commission whereby the inhabitants have free access to make complain to your governor and council, of any defect in any of law, or to give reasons for any new one, which, bein modelled by the governor and council into form of law and transmitted unto your majesty, if by your majesty are council found reasonable, may be transmitted back this

to be enacted accordingly.

6th. It was sufficiently apparent unto your majesty, the laws must alter with the interest of the place, when your majesty pleased to lodge such a power in that government, as might not only, from time to time, with your majesty's approbation, and by the advice both of your privy-council here and of the governor and council here mable the assembly to enact new laws answerable to the growing necessities, but even, upon urgent occasion, provide, by raising money, for the security of the islan without attending your majesty's orders or consent.

7th. It is not to be doubted but the affembly have deavoured to grasp all power, as well as that of a dell rative voice, in making laws; but how far they have the by intrenched upon your majefty's prerogative, and exceed the bounds of their duty and loyalty, upon this prem may appear by their date exorbitant and unwarrant proceedings during the government of the Lord Vaugh in ordering and fighing a warrant unto the marshal of island, your majesty's officer of justice, for the stoppi and preventing the execution of a fentence paffed, account ing to the ordinary forms of law, upon a notorious put and diffurber of your majesty's peace: and they have fi ther taken upon them, by virtue of this deliberative po er, to make laws contrary to those of England, and to prison your majesty's subjects; nor have they forborne raise money by public acts, and to dispose of the same cording to their will and pleasure, without any ment made of your majesty, which has never in like case be practifed in any of your majesty's kingdoms. How therefore, it is fit to entrust them with a power which the have thus abused, and to which they have no pretension right, was the subject of your majesty's royal commission when you were pleased to put a restraint upon those enorg

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hes, and to take the reins of government into your own APPEN.
hands, which they, in express words, against their duty DIX.
and allegiance, have challenged and refused to part with.

8th. It cannot with any truth be supposed, that, by the resent form of government, the governor is rendered absolute, since he is now, more than ever, become accountable unto your majesty of all his most important deliberations and actions, and is not warranted to do any thing but according to law and your majesty's commission and intructions, given by advice of your privy-council.

9th. And whether your majesty's prerogative is prejuted by the present constructions, is more the concernent of your majesty, and subject of your own care, than

their confiderations.

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Laftly, and in general, we humbly conceive, that it would tagreat fatisfaction to your subjects there inhabiting, and invitation to strangers, when they shall know what laws ry are to be governed by, and a great ease to the planters to be continually obliged to attend the affemblies to read old laws, which your majesty has now thought fit, in proper form, to ascertain and establish; whereas the late ower of making temporary laws could be understood to of no longer continuance than until fuch wholesome n, founded upon fo many years experience, should be gred on by the people, and finally enacted by your mady, in such manner as hath been practifed in either of ur majesty's dominions to which your English subjects we transplanted themselves. For as they cannot pretend further privileges than have been granted to them, either charter or some solemn act under your great seal, so, wing from the first beginning of that plantation been overned by fuch instructions as were given by your maby unto your governors, according to the power your jeffy had originally over them, and which you have by one authentic act ever yet parted with, and having ever had any other right to affemblies than from the periffion of the governors, and that only temporary and for tobation, it is to be wondered how they should presume to woke your majesty, by pretending a right to that which th been allowed them merely out of favour, and discouge your majesty from future favours of that kind, when hat your majesty ordered for a temporary experiment, to what form would best suit the safety and interest of the and, shall be construed to be a total refignation of the power

BOOK power inherent in your majesty, and a devolution of it themselves and their wills, without which neither law no government, the effential ingredients of their subfished and well-being, may take place among them.

Since, therefore, it is evident, that the affembly of la maica have, without any just grounds, and with so much animofity and undutifulness, proceeded to reject the mark of your majesty's favour towards them, and that you majesty's resolutions in this case are like to be the measure of respect and obedience to your royal commands in other colonies; we can only offer, as a cure for irregularities pa and a remedy against all further inconveniencies, that you majesty would please to authorize and empower yourg vernor to call another affembly, and to represent unto the the great inconvenience and expediency of accepting a confenting unto fuch laws as your majefty has under w great feal transmitted unto them; and that, in case of fusal, his lordship be furnished with such powers as we formerly given unto Col. D'Oyley, your first governor Jamaica, and fince unto other governors, whereby his lon Thip may be enabled to govern according to the laws England, where the different nature and confliction that colony may conveniently permit the fame; and, other cases to act, with the advice of the council, in su manner as shall be held necessary and proper for the go government of that plantation, until your majefty's furth orders; and that, by all opportunities of conveyance, t governor do give your majesty a constant and particul account of all his proceedings, in pursuance of your i ftructions herein.

All which is most humbly submitted, &c.

Upon reading of which report, and full debate then upon, his majesty was pleased to approve the same and the Right honourable Mr. Secretary Covent is hereby directed to prepare such suitable orders as instructions as may answer the several parts as advices contained in the said report.

Robert Southwell.

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# NUMBER XIII.

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Extract of a letter from the Committee to the Earl of Carlifle.

AFTER our very hearty commendation unto your APPEN lordhip, we have received two letters from you, the one of the 24th of October, the other of the 15th of Norember, 1678; both of which gave us an account of the defalte the affembly had expressed at the new frame of government, and of their throwing out all the bills transmitted under the great feal; and your lordship having therein recommended unto us the speedy dispatch of the bills fent to Mr. Secretary Coventry, for paffing them brough the offices here, we did thereupon take the fame into our confideration: but finding that they contained such clauses as we had formerly (your lordship being pre-(nt) difallowed in the laws enacted by the Lord Vaughan, smost prejudicial to his majesty's rights and prerogative, me of them appropriating and disposing of the quit-rents in the fame terms as was formerly done, so much to his miesty's diffatisfaction; another, declaring the laws of England to be in force, which clause (your lordship cannot but remember) was postponed here, upon very serious diberation; besides divers other particulars, altogether unfit to be passed by his majesty: we have, withal, perused. the several letters which your lordship had written to Mr. Secretary Coventry, in relation to your government: and as for the laws, we could not advise his majesty to proceed in any other manner, than by giving power to call another affembly, and to offer unto them the fame laws your lordthip carried over, as being the most usefully framed and fettled for the good of the island and his majefty's service: and that, in case of refusal, you might be enabled to govern according to commissions and instructions given unto former governors, as your lordship will more fully understand by our report unto his majesty, and the order of council thereupon to which we refer your lordship, as setting forth at large the grounds and reasons inducing the resolutions his majesty has now taken.

Vor. I, and have bred of Tollan ment NUMBER

#### NUMBER XIV.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

St. Jago de la Vega, 30th Aug. 1679.

BOOK YOUR packet by Captain Buckingham, having inclosed his majesty's letter of the 31st of May last, and an order in council of the 28th of May, 1679, together with the animadversions of the council upon several points of the 22d of May last, and two letters from yourself, I received the 26th inft. at night. The next morning I rad them in council. The affembly then having fat some seven days, to renew the bill for a revenue, the last being just expiring, I fent for the general affembly, and read the or der of council and the king's letter thereupon to them which I hope will have fome good effect; but they came in as good time so much contrary to their expectation. herewith fend you a copy of their address thereupon, which they presented to me the 28th; and finding them nettled and warm, I thought it discretion to let them take time to digest their thoughts; and, having continued the revenue bill for fix months longer from the 1st of September next I passed it, and then prorogued them till the 28th of Octo ber following.

#### NUMBER XV.

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Copy of a vote of the Assembly, Aug. 22, 1679

#### DIE VENERIS.

THE committee appointed to examine Mr. Martyn's accounts reported, that Mr. Martyn, appearing before them, faid, that my lord had ordered him to come and tell them, that, both from the king and from my lord, he was not obliged to shew his accounts to the assembly; but that he had given them unto my lord, and his excellency

he told him, that, if any of the affembly had a mind to APPENfe them, they might fee them there.

The house, considering the return of the committee orleved to inspect Mr. Martyn's accounts, re-assumed that
lebate, and thereupon did vote, that notwithstanding my
lerd's answer by Mr. Martyn to that Committee, it was
and is their undoubted and inherent right, that as all bills
for money ought and do arise in their house, so they ought
to appoint the disposal of it, and to receive and examine all
the accounts concerning the same.

Vera Copia.

ROWLAND POWELL.

### NUMBER XVI.

Istrall of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to the Committee.

St. Jago de la Vega, 15th Sept. 1679.

My Lords,

Mr.

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YOUR lordships letters of the 25th of March, 4th April, and 31st of May last, I received on the 26th of August, as also your lordships orders and reports to his miely, touching the laws and government of Jamaica; which I communicated to the council (the affembly then fitting to continue the revenue bill, expiring the 2d of September) on the 27th of August; and afterwards, the ame day, I communicated, the council being present, his majesty's letter of the 31st of May last, and your lordhips order and report of the same date, to the affembly; which came to me as feafonably as they received them surprisedly, making me the next morning the enclosed addes; upon which, having passed a bill of impost for fix months, I prorogued them, by advice of the council, till the 28th of October next, hoping in that time they would all of their heat, and, upon recollection, better bethink memselves of their duties and allegiance, and upon my offering them again the laws, which I propose to do upon their first meeting, better demonstrate their obedience by readily giving their consent that they might be enactBOOK But, from what I can learn from the chief leaders II. among them, I find the fame averseness as formerly, averring that they will submit to wear, but never consent to make chains, as they term this frame of government, for their posterities; so that I scarce expect better success; of which I have writ at large to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

#### NUMBER XVII.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

St. Jago de la Vega, 23d November, 1679.

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Sir,

THE affembly meeting on the 28th of October, I, with the council, went to them; commanded the council's report of the 28th of May, and his majefty's letter of the 31st of May last, to be read again to them; pressed them very much to confider how much it imported at this juncture for the interest of the island, that they should pass these laws I brought to them under the great seal of England, or at least part of them; desiring that any one of more of the affembly would there and then argue the reafonableness of their objection, which none of them would undertake; and fo I left the body of laws with them. They having the last fession passed a vote, that the raising money and disposing of it, was the inherent right of the affembly (of which I had no account, either from the members of their speaker, in fourteen days afterwards, they presuming it to be their privilege that their proceedings should be kept fecret from me) I then appointed and fwore them clerk, which before used to be of their own choice; and this they are very uneafy under.

They proceeded to read over the body of laws; notwithflanding the great care, pains, and trouble I had taken with them, both apart individually as well as affembled together, they threw out and rejected all the laws, again adhering to their former reasons, rather than admitting of honouring those from their lordships for rules of obedi-

ence

I thereupon presently, with the council, framed a bill of

sevenue indefinite, and fent that to them: but that had no APPENbetter success; and they then attended me with the address, to be presented to his majesty, which I herewith send you; as also the humble defire of justification of his majesty's council thereupon, which I and they earnestly defire your favour in humbly prefenting to his majefty, being unanimoully agreed to by all the council: but Col. Samuel Long chief-justice of the island, whom I have found all along fince my arrival here to be a most pertinacious abettor and therisher of the affembly's stubbornness in opposing this new frame of government, having had a hand, being their fpeaker, in the leaving the king's name out of the revenue bill) refuses to join with the council in this their geruine act, and has fufficiently possessed himself of the opinion of the asfembly, by advising and affifting them in the framing of their address: thinking their resolutions to be as unalterable as his own, he is withdrawn to his plantation, fome thirty miles off from this town, where at this juncture we have most need of council.

Upon ferious and deliberate confideration of all which, I have fent him his quietus; and appointed Col. Robert Bynd-loss chief-justice in his place, of whose fidelity to the king's interest I have many proofs, having formerly executed the place, and was now one of the judges of the supreme court.

I have also suspended Col. Long from being one of the council, purposing, by the advice of the council, to bring or send him, with fix more of the assembly, to attend the king and council in England to support their own opinions, reasons, and address, wherein they are not ordinarily positive; and this I do from the council here unanimously agreeing, that there is no other nor better expedient for the settlement of this government to a general consent.

#### NUMBER XVIII,

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlifle to the Committee.

St. Jago de la Vega, 23d Nov. 1679.

My Lords,

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MINE of the tenth of September last to your lordships I hope you have received; and what I therein sent your lordships,

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BOOK lordships, as my conjecture in prospect, fince the general II. affembly's meeting, on the 28th of October last, have

found to be no vain prophecy.

Upon the affembly's meeting on that day, I, with the council, went to the place where they were met, and again, in the prefence of the council and the affembly, commanded to be read your lordships report of the 28th of May last past made to his majesty, as also his majesty's commands to myfelf of the 31st of the same; and thereupon offered to the affembly the body of laws brought over under the great feal of England for their confent; at the same time declaring to them the great expediency it would be to all the officers of the island, and reason to persuade his majesty they were another people than represented at home; that it would induce the king to gratify them in what was necessary; and that, otherwise, they could not appear but in great contempt, to the leffening of the island's interest in his royal favour: and what I urged in general to them at their meeting, I had not been wanting to press to them apart individually before it: then fwore them a clerk of my appointing which they took not well, alledging it was their right to choose their own clerk. I told them, no; for that the king did grant by patent the clerk of the parliament, to that they were uneafily over-ruled. The reason of my doing this was from their having an opinion that the votes of the house should be kept a secret from me, and their passing a vote the former fessions, that to raise money, and dispose of the same, was a right inherent in the assembly, of which had no notice, in some fourteen days after, from any of them or their speaker.

I much urged the whole affembly freely to argue, in the presence of the council and their own members, for the reasonableness of the matter commanded by the king, that upon their discoursing it openly and freely, they might be the better convinced of the necessity of their being dutiful therein but none of them, in my presence and the council's, would undertake it; so we left them, and the body of laws with them

Some days they spent in reading over again the body of laws under the great seal lest with them; but rejected the many arguments I had laboured with them, and threw all the laws out again: whereupon they appointed a committee to draw up an address, to be presented by me to his majesty on their behalfs: and in that time, with the council, I drew a bill of revenue individually, and gave it myself to their speaker; but that bill had no better success, but was rejected also.

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Upon this, on the 14th inftant, the speaker and affembly APPENbeing fent for to attend me in council, to shew cause why they did reject the bill of revenue fo framed by us in oursuance of his majesty's pleasure therein, they gave me no answer; but, by their speaker, defired to present to me their address, the speaker contending to give it its due accent by reading it himself, a copy whereof is here sent inclosed.

This address is founded greatly upon the advice of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Long, chief-justice of the island, and one of the king's council, who principally contends for the old frame of government, of whom the affembly is highly opinated, and effect him the patron of their rights and privileges as Englishmen, who had a hand in leaving the king's mme out of the revenue bill, being then speaker, and denies nothis having a hand in framing and advising some parts of

the address, which in whole is not truth; for,

ift. Whereas they alledge, that the civil government commenced in my Lord Windsor's time; it is generally hown, and recorded in our council-book, fifteen months before, in Colonel D'Oyley's time, and will be proved by Sir Thomas Lynch, who then himself had an occasion of a trial by a jury, the foreman of which was Colonel Byndlofs. adly. They alledge the readiness of governors to use martial law, particularly in Sir Thomas Lynch's time; which is here contradicted, for there was only an order in ouncil for the putting it in force upon condition of any actual descent or invasion, and not otherwise; neither was it on foot really all this time here, as I am credibly informed upon good enquiry.

3dly. As for its being in force in my time, it was not from my affection, but the council advising and their defiring it; as also the putting off the courts till February, in hvour generally of the planters. Then, for their alledging to much to be done during the martial law, wholly at the charge of the country; that it is done is true, but the charge thereof they would clog the revenue bill with, amounting to twelve hundred and twenty-eight pounds, when, communibus aunis, the bill of impost is but fifteen hundred pounds; of which twelve hundred and twentyeight pounds there is not yet made payment of one farthing, nor any prespect how it may, since the revenue is lo much anticipated from the want of money in the treafury, occasioned by my Lord Vaughan's letting fall the bill of revenue before his departure.

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BOOK II.

# NUMBER XIX,

To his Excellency Charles Earl of Carlifle, captain-general, governor, and commander in chief of his majesty's island of Jamaica, &c.

The humble address of the assembly of this his majest's island, in answer to the report of the right honourable the lords of the committee of trade and plantations, made to his majesty's council; which we entreat his excellency may be humbly presented to his most sacra majesty and his council.

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WE, his majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the affembly of this his island of Jamaica, cannot without in finite grief of mind read the report made to his majesty by the right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and plantations; wherein, by the relations made by their lordships unto his majesty, they have represented us as a people full of animosity, unreasonable, irregular, violent undutiful, and transgressing both the bounds of duty and loyalty; the bitterness of which characters were we in the least part conscious to have deserved, we should, like Job have said, "Behold, we are vile: what shall we answer? It will lay our hands upon our mouths."

But, left our filence should argue our guilt, we shall, in all humility, endeavour to make appear we have always demeaned ourselves as becometh good and obedient subjects and those who acknowledge and are truly sensible of the many favours received from his majesty; the truth of which resting only on matter of fact being related, and the sale colours which hitherto have been thrown on us being washed off, we shall not doubt but his majesty will soon entertain

a better opinion of his subjects of this island.

We must, therefore, humbly beg that his majesty will with patience be pleased to hear the account of our proceedings; which truly to manifest we must be forced to look back so far as Sir Charles Lyttleton's and Sir Thomas Modysord's entrance upon their government:

At which time, we humbly conceive, the island began APPENreally to take up the form of a civil government, and wholly to lay afide that of an army, which, until that time, was deemed the supreme authority; when after, upon their everal arrivals, by order from his majesty, and according to the method of his majesty's most ancient plantations, they called affemblies, and fettled the government of the illand in fuch good form, that, until his excellency the Earl of Carlifle's first arrival, his majesty thought not fit to alter it, though several governors in that time were changed, which must necessarily infer the goodness and raion of it, as well as the fatisfaction of the people (fince, from that time, they betook themselves to settle planta-tions) especially the merchants, by which means the estates here are wonderfully increased, as is evident by the great number of ships loaden here by the industry of the plante; and the fatisfaction they received by those wholesome hws then began, and until that time continued, the change of which laws we had no reason to expect, being done on fuch mature deliberation from home.

But to return to answer; the first thing their lordships at pleased to accuse us of is, presuming to question his migesty's power over the militia; which, how much they are missinformed in it, will hereunder appear; but we must suff repeat the clause against which, we humbly conceive, we had just reasons to take exceptions, which clause is

s followeth ;

"declared by the authority aforefaid, that nothing in this act contained be expounded, conftrued, or understood, to diminish, alter, or abridge, the power of the governor or commander in chief for the time being; but that in all things he may, upon all occasions or exigencies, act as captain-general and governor in chief, according to and in pursuance of all the powers and authorities given to him by his majesty's commission; any thing in this act or any other to the contrary in anywise notal flanding."

In their lordships observations, in which they take no notice that the power given by that clause extends as well to the governor as captain-general, nor of the words "any "thing in this act or any other to the contrary notwith- "standing," which words, being plain, need no references to

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BOOK expound them, being consented to, there is no occasion of making any other law, because that makes all the power and authorities given by his majesty's commission, and b that commission, the instructions which shall be after give to him, shall be law, though it be to the nulling of an beneficial law, made either here or in England, by which we are fecured both in life and in estate; the like of which was never done in any of his majesty's dominions what foever, and is in effect to enact will to be law, and wi be construed (we fear) to bind us by the old rule law, that every man may renounce his own right: an if their lordships had been pleased to have as well re membered the other clauses of the act of the militia, cannot think they would have faid we had questioned hi majesty's power over it, for no act of England gives h majesty the like power over the militia as ours doth; for on any apprehension of danger, the general with his cour cil of officers have power to put the law martial on for for what time they please, and to command us in our ow persons, our servants, negroes, horses, even all that w have, to his majefty's fervice; which having been to ofte put in practice will need the less proof: but how read and willingly we have obeyed, and in that faith is be justified by works, it will not be amiss to instance for times, and what hath been done in those times, by the charge and labour of his majesty's subjects here, under the feveral governors; none of which have left unexpen mented the strength of his majesty's commission, and the virtue or force of that act, upon the least feeming of cafion.

In the government of Sir Thomas Modyford, in the years 1665 and 1666, the whole island was put under la martial for many months together; in which time, the inhabitants and their blacks, Fort-Charles was made close, which to that time wanted a whole line, and all the breaft-work at Port-Royal was built, with a ver fmall charge to his majesty.

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In the time of Sir Thomas Lynch, in the year 167 the law martial was again fet on foot; Fort-James buil by the contributions of the gentlemen of his majefty council and affembly, and feveral other of his majesty good subjects in this island, which amounted to a ver considerable sum of money; a breast-work thrown up

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Old-Harbour and several other places; and guns mounted APPEN.
on a platform placed at Port-Morant,
DIX.

In Lord Vaughan's time, though there was no probability of war, yet he wanted not the trial of his power also in the militia, and our obedience to it; for he commanded out a company of the inhabitants in search of a Spanish barqua longa, who was said to have robbed a sloop belonging to this upon the coast of Cuba: he, likewise, in savour of the royal company, commanded out to sea two vessels, with a company of the militia and their captain, from Port-Royal, to seize an interloper riding in one of his majesty's harbours, and there by force seized by

In the time of Sir Henry Morgan being commander in dief, we were again put under martial law; in which ime Fort-Rupert, Fort-Carlifle, and a new line at Fort-

lames, were built.

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Lastly, in his excellency the Earl of Carlisse's time (the resent governor) the law martial was again put in force frabout three months; in which time Fort-Morgan with its platform, and another line at Fort-James, and the heast-work reinforced very considerably in thickness and hight, and new carriages were made for the guns, those that came out of England not being fit for land service; all which fortifications are substantially built with stone and brick, at the charge and labour of the country,

Neither have we ever been wanting in due respect to his majesty's governors; the militia having always waited on them to church, in their progresses, and on all public occasions: and we may safely affirm with truth, that no militia in his majesty's dominions undergo the like military duty as his subjects in Jamaica; as is evident to all men that ever set soot in Port-Royal, which cannot be diffinguished from a garrison, either in time of peace or war,

but by their not being paid for their fervice.

To answer their lordships objections to the bill of reverance, wherein his majesty's name was lest out, there are several members of this assembly now sitting who were members when that bill passed three times in form in the assembly; and, upon the best recollection of their memones, they are fully persuaded and do believe the bill was again sent down with that amendment from the governor and council, according as it passed at the last; but, should

BOOK it have risen in the assembly, they are very unfortunate they must bear the censure of all mistakes that ma happen in presenting laws to be passed, when both the governor and his council have their negative voices, an which, had either of them made use of in this point would have been readily confented to by the affembly, they had formerly done, both under the government of Si Thomas Modyford and Sir Thomas Lynch, before who time it had been raised without mentioning his majesty name, and that without check; and we always conclude the governor's name in the enacting part to be of the fam effect as his majesty's is in England, whom, in this parti cular, he feems rather to personate than represent: fo which reasons we hope, it ought not to have been in puted to the affembly as their crime altogether, being con fented unto by his majesty's governor without any debate and all applied by the act whereby it was raifed, to the very fame public use his majesty directs; and we are cer tain no instance can be given of any money disposed of any private use, but was always issued by the governor warrant, for the payment of his own and other his gener officers falaries in this island, with some small continger charges of the government.

Their lordships also affirm, that the affembly offere this bill, in the same measure and proportion as it is no proposed, to Sir Thomas Lynch: in which their lordships are misinformed; for his majesty's instruction were, that the laws should be in force for two year and no longer, which their lordships also acknowledge in the prior part of the report; so that the assembly needed not to have expressed any time, and the particular use

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But had their lordships known how great sums of money have been raised here, and how small a part hat been applied to his majesty's service for the defence an strengthening the island, we humbly conceive their lordships would have been of opinion, that we have no reason to bar ourselves to perpetuity, and pass the said as without limitation of uses or time; nor can we be presumptuous as to imagine the king can be hindered from making such use of his own money as he shall think stand apply it where he finds most necessary.

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It is very true the laws contain many and great errors, APPEN, their lordships may see by the assembly's journal; so that DIX, were the assembly as much petitioners to his majesty for his new form as they are to be restored to their old, above half the body of these laws, without amendment, would never be reasonable to pass.

As, to instance some few amongst many: in the act for preventing damages by fire, a single justice of the peace with power of life and death; and the act of the militia empowers the governor and council to levy a tax on the whole island; and in the act directing the marshal's proceedings, there is a clause that makes it felony for any person to enceal his own goods, left in his own possession, after execution levied by that law, so that a man may be hanged for being poor, which, though inconvenient, was never till then arounted capital; with others too long to be repeated.

And whereas their lordships are pleased to say, that there inothing impersect or desective in these bills transmitted lither; yet we humbly conceive, that no notice being taken at this body of laws how or in what nature we are to make the of the laws of England, either as they have reference to the preservation of his majesty's prerogative or the subjects withs, we ought not in reason to consent to these bills; for, nothing appearing to the contrary, the governor is lest, ad shitum, to use or refuse as sew or as many as he pleases, and such as suit with his occasions; there being no directions in them how to proceed according to the laws of England, wither in causes criminal or testamentary, and in many other uses which concern the quiet of the subject, both in life and estate.

We conceive also, that, whatsoever is said to the contary by their lordships in answer to the distance of places, this very last experiment is sufficiently convincing of the tuth of that allegation; since it is a year since this model came over and was debated, and before their lordships report came back, notwithstanding one of the advices went home by an express. And,

Whereas their lordships say, we cannot be subject to more accidents than his majesty's kingdom of Ireland; to that we object, that advice and answers thence may be had in ten or fourteen days, and that kingdom is already settled, our plantation but beginning. But surther, we can

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II. cipio, ever intended for Englishmen: besides, their lord. Thips cannot but know, that that model was introduced amongst them by a law made by themselves in Ireland, and so consequently bound them, which, being now generally known to all those who remove thither, they have no cause to repine at, that being their choice to live under it or stay from it, and was made for the preservation of the English against the Irish faction. As there is not the same cause, so there is not the same reason, for imposing the same on us, unless we did it ourselves, who are all his majesty natural-born subjects of his kingdom of England; which is the reason the parliament give, in all their acts concerning the plantations, for obliging us by them to what, and with whom, and in what manner, we may trade, and impose a tax on us here in case of trade from one colony to another; and it is but equity then, that the same law should

have the fame power of loofing as binding.

His majesty giving a power, on urgent occasions, to raise monies the old way, only secures the king's officer their salaries, which else they had been disappointed of the act of the militia which was heretofore consented to ever providing, that, on alarm or invasion, the commande in chief should have unlimited power over all persons estates, and things, necessary on such urgencies.

As to the 7th, the affembly fay, they never defired an power but what his majesty's governors affured them we their birth-rights, and what they supposed his majesty most gracious proclamation allowed them: also, his majesty was graciously pleased to write a letter to his governo Sir Thomas Lynch, after the double trial of one Pete Johnson, a pirate, signifying his dislike that any thing should be done that should cause any doubt in his subjects in not enjoying all the privileges of subjects of the king dom of England, or to that effect.

But as to the obstructing of justice against Brown, the pirate, what they did, though not justifiable in the manner was out of an assurance, that we had no law in force the to declare my lord chancellor of England's power and out chancellor's here equal, in granting commissions in pursuance of the statute of Henry the eighth; which also his majesty and council perceiving, have, in the new body olaws, sent one to supply that want: and if they, not med dling

ing with the merits of the cause, endeavoured to preserve APPENform of justice, and justice itself, and, after denial of DIX.
meral petitions, joined with the council, were led beyond
ir duty (for which they were sharply reprimanded by the
m governor) they do hope for and humbly beg his mady's pardon.

And as for the act upon which he came in, it arose not in assembly, but was sent from the council, to be consent-

to by them, which was accordingly done.

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And as to the imprisonment of Mr. Thomas Martyn, of their members, for taking out process in chancery in the council, the affembly then sitting, and for other missers and breach of the rules of the house; they hope it is shable, the king's governor having affured them, that we had the same power over their members which the sit of commons have, and all speakers here praying, the governors granting, the usual petitions of speakers legsland.

keing the governor hath power to turn out a counsellor, iturning out incapacitates him from being an affemblya, no counsellor dares give his opinion against the gomor, under danger of less penalty than losing that which thinks his birth-right: also, a governor being chancellor, duary, and admiral, joined with his military authority, was so great a power in him, that being united and exated in one person to turn it totum in qualibet parte, so the may invalidate any thing done under his own comisson.

There is no doubt but, by this new way, it is in the afmbly's power to confent to and perpetuate such laws as are
bolly of benefit to them, and leave unpassed all that may
thought most necessary for his majesty; which advantage
by not laying hold on, hope it will be an evidence they
recareful of his majesty's prerogative, as it is the duty

every good subject to be.

It is without controversy that the old form of governent, which was ordered so like his majesty's kingdom of agland, must of consequence be of greater encourageent to all his majesty's subjects, as well as strangers, to move themselves hither. Upon his majesty's proclamaon in my Lord Windsor's time, and by those gracious structions given to Sir Thomas Modyford, all or most

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BOOK part of the fugar plantations have been settled; and the major part of the said planters being such who arrived here and settled upon the general liking of the mode first constituted, and in belief that they soft not any of the privileges of his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England by their removal hither, and having by no act as we believe, either provoked his majesty or forseited our rights, or ever desiring or attempting to lessen or question his majesty's prerogative, the preservation whereof we ever deemed the best means of preserving our own

for us ever to forget.

And whereas their lordships are pleased to offer their ad vice to his majesty, to furnish his governor with such powers as were formerly given to Colonel D'Oyley an others, in whose time the then accounted army was no disbanded, but so continued till Lord Windsor's arriva who brought over the king's royal donative and order t fettle the civil government: we hope their lordships inten not that we are to be governed by or as an army, or that the governor be empowered to levy any tax by himself an council; fince his majesty having discharged himself an council, by an act of parliament, of any fuch power over any of his majesty's subjects of his kingdom of England as we undoubtedly are, it will be very hard to have an imposition laid on us but by our own consents; for the lordships well know, that no derived power is great than the primitive.

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privileges and estates, we shall presume to hope for the continuance of his majesty's favour, which is impossible

However, if his most gracious majesty shall not thin fit to alter this model, but we are to be governed by the governor and council, according to their lordships adviously we humbly beseech his majesty to do us the grace to believe, that we are so sensible of our duty and allegiant that our submission to and comportment under his majesty's authority shall be such as that, we hope, he, in due time, will be graciously pleased to restore unto us of ancient form of government, under which it hath hither to pleased God to prosper us: ending with our hear prayers for his majesty's long and happy reign over under most humbly begging his majesty's pardon of all of errors and mistakes, and a gracious interpretation of the our answer; protesting, from the bottom of our hear

that we are and refolve to die his majesty's true, loyal, APPENand obedient subjects.

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ROWLAND POWELL, Cl. Com.

#### NUMBER XX.

The humble defire and justification of the members of his majesty's council, to his Excellency the Governor in Jamaica.

THE alterations of the frame of government in this his majesty's island of Jamaica unto that of his kingdom of Ireland, which his majesty, the best and greatest of kings, but graciously commanded us to submit unto and own, we, his majesty's truly loyal and dutiful subjects hitherto have and yet do, by a willing readiness, and ready willingments, declare our entire obedience and hearty conformity deceunto, because his majesty commands.

And although his majesty's great perspicuity and truly mail prudence is best able to determine what government is the sittest for his subjects in this island, yet, with all the submission, in all humility, we beg leave to represent to his majesty the great inconvenience attending the present frame, in transmitting our laws home.

The vast distance of place will of necessity require a great expense of time, between the first framing our laws here and the transmitting and return of them hither again; so that, before they can be passed into laws by the assembly here, there will probably as great cause arise to alter as there were at first to make them.

And, with all due submission, we judge it even impossible to adapt laws to the present constitution, so as not to admit of often and great alterations; for, according to our experience hitherto, we have found urgent occasions to alter and amend the laws, that have more immediately concerned us here, at the least every two years; and we cannot foresee but we shall lie under the same necessity still; so that if his majesty graciously please to take it Vol. I.

BOOK into his princely confideration, and either reftore to us our former power and way or method of paffing laws, or at least remit that part of the prefent method of making laws which only concerns us here, as they may pass without transmitting the same, we hope, by our present submission and entire obedience to all his laws here, his majesty will be a glo-

rious prince and his subjects here an happy people. And whereas the gentlemen of the affembly, in their address to his majesty read here in council the 15th of No. vember, 1679, do declare, that as to the bill of revenue wherein his majesty's name was left out, that there are feveral of the members of their affembly now fitting who were members when that bill passed three times in form in the affembly, and, upon the best recollection of their memories, they are fully perfuaded and do believe the till was again fent down with that amendment from the governor and council, according as it passed at the last: we the gentlemen of his majesty's council here present at the past fing of the bill, do most humbly and with all seriousness aver and declare, that we were so far from consenting the faid bill should pass without his majesty's name in it, that we do not remember it was ever debated or mentioned in council; and further, that to the best of our respective knowledge, it was read three times, and paffed the councilboard, with his majesty's name in it: and we are the rather induced to this our confidence, because we find the original act was razed, and, by the then speaker's own hand, interlined; and moreover, the several amendments of the said bill, that were made in council, were all taken notice of in the minutes in our council-books, and no mention made of this; and the gentlemen of the affembly do produce nothing out of their journal to justify the reflections upon us; therefore it is to be prefumed they cannot.

And we do further humbly and unanimously declare, we never did at any time, either jointly or severally, make any complaint to the assembly, or any of them, of the power given by his majesty to his excellency our present governor to suspend any of his majesty's council here; for as we have hitherto yielded all due obedience and submission to his majesty's royal will and pleasure concerning us, so we hope we shall approve ourselves such, and, as in duty bound, ever pray for his majesty's

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Prince Lord Lord Marc Earl

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repo lord long life, and that he may prosperously and triumphantly APPENreign over us. DIX.

This was unanimously agreed to in council by the respective members thereof who were present at the passing the bill of revenue: Colonel Thomas Ballard, Colonel John Cope, Colonel Robert Byndloss, Colonel Thomas Freeman, Colonel William Joy, Colonel Thomas Fuller, John White, Esquire;

And confented to by the whole council, excepting Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Long.

Received from the Earl of Carlifle, 26th February, 1679-80.

#### NUMBER XXI.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 5th of March, 1679-80,

# PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord Prefident,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Marquis of Worcester,
Earl of Bridgwater,

Earl of Effex, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Secretary Coventry, Sir Leolin Jenkins.

A LETTER from the Earl of Carlifle to the committee, dated 23d of November last, is read, wherein his lordship acquaints the committee, that, having called the council and affembly together, he had caused their lordships report of the 28th of May to be publicly read; which their lordships think to be disagreeable to the directions of the report,

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BOOK report, which was only presented to his majesty for his information, and in order to furnish the Earl of Carlife, when occasion should serve, with such arguments as might be fit to be used in justification of his majesty's commitfion and instructions; and their lordships particularly take notice, that it was neither necessary nor convenient for him to expose his instructions to the affembly: and as to the clerk of the affembly, which his lordship had appointed, the committee does very much approve his lordfhip's proceedings therein, and will defire him to continue the fame method for the future.

And whereas Colonel Long is represented to have a hand in leaving out the king's name in the late bill of revenue, and in framing and advising the address of the affembly now transmitted to his majesty; their lordships will report, that the Earl of Carlisle may be ordered to send him to

England, to answer what is laid to his charge.

The address of the affembly of Jamaica to his majety, in answer to a report of the committee approved on the 28th of May last, being read, their lordships observe, that there are many falfities and mistakes contained therein.

First, it is alledged by the affembly, that the island took up the civil form of government in the time of Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Charles Lyttelton; whereas it is certain that Colonel D'Oyley had a commission, soon after his majesty's restoration, to govern by the civil power.

As to their denial of having left out his majesty's name in the revenue bill, it is evident, by the juffification of the council, and affurance of the Lord Vaughan, that the bill passed the governor and council with his majesty's name, which was afterwards left out, or erafed, as may be supposed by the interlineation that yet appears upon

the original bill.

And whereas it is faid, that their lordships are missiformed, in affirming that the affembly had before offered the bill of revenue in the same measure and proportion as is now proposed, fince the laws were to be in force for two years, and no longer: the affembly have quite forgotten, or pretended to be ignorant of, the powers fettled by his majefty's commission to Sir Thomas Lynch, whereby the laws were to be in force for two years, and no longer, unless confirmed by his majesty within that time; so that the bill transmitted by Sir

Sir Thomas Lynch wanted only his majesty's approbation APPENto render it perpetual. DIX.

The affembly further mentions the great sums raised in lamaica, which had not been employed to his majesty's fryice; but does not instance the misapplication of any

part of the revenue by any of the governors.

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d by Sir It is also to be observed, that the law for preventing amages by fire, of which they complain, was first made by them; as also the act directing the marshal's proceedings cannot be but very reasonable, and for the advantage of the planters, fince it gives them the use of their goods after execution, and enables them the better to pay their this.

And whereas the affembly complains, that there is no wranfmitted to them for afcertaining the laws of England: it is thought reasonable, that his majesty should reain within himself the power of appointing the laws of lagland to be in full force in that island, as he shall find seeflary.

The delays and length of time, alledged by them in retence to the model prescribed by his majesty, were stolly occasioned by the refractoriness of the assembly, and

m by the distance of places, or other reasons.

What they object concerning Ireland, in reference to amaica, is frivolous; fince the English there have right the same privileges as those of Jamaica, and are bound to by acts of parliament in England, as well as the inhabitants of Jamaica.

To the 7th objection it is replied, that nothing has been done to take away their enjoyment of all the privileges of English subjects, since they are governed by the

aws and statutes of this realm.

Their unwarrantable proceedings in obstructing of justice against Brown the pirate is confessed, and his ma-

effy's pardon prayed by them.

Their lordships think the imprisonment of Martyn, and the articles preferred against him, altogether unjustifiable, not only as he was his majesty's collector, but as the affembly ought not, by the pretensions of privilege, to helter themselves from justice, there being no such usage in Barbadoes and other plantations.

In the 9th place, it is altogether erroneous in the affem-

power,

BOOK power, to accept such laws as are wholly of benefit to themselves, and to reject such as are most necessary for his majesty; since the governor yet retains a negative voice,

after the confent of the affembly.

And whereas they very much infift upon his majefty's proclamation in my Lord Windsor's time: his majefty has not in any instance withdrawn the effects of his promie to them, nor imposed several rules and instructions that were prescribed in Sir Thomas Modysord's commission and instructions, whereby he had power, with the advice of the council, to raise money on strong liquors: and the assembly can as little believe they have not provoked his majesty to keep a strict eye upon them, after their several unwarrantable proceedings during the government of the Lord Vaughan, and since of the Earl of Carlisse, by their votes and otherwise.

In the last place, it is falsely infinuated by the assembly that the government remained under an army in Colone D'Oyley's time; fince it appears plainly by his commission that it was otherwise provided, and that the martial law was then laid asside: so that, upon the whole matter, they have reason to beg his majesty's pardon for all their errors

and miftakes.

The justification of the council of Jamaica, in answer to the imputation of the affembly, of their leaving out the king's name in the revenue bill, is also read; and to be made use of by the governor, to disprove the allegations of the affembly in their own behalf.

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#### NUMBER XXIII.

APPEN-DIX.

Extract of an order in council.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Monday the 8th of March, 1679-80,

PRESENT,
Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of Bridgewater, Sir Leolin Jenkins.

THE Lord Vaughan attends, concerning the charge against Colonel Long, of Jamaica, for razing out the king's name in the act of revenue; and declares, that he is very consider that the bill came up from the assembly to the council with the king's name in it, and that it was not put out by the council, nor by his privity; and that when Mr. Martyn came to Jamaica with the king's patent to be collector, his lordship then sent for the act, and perceived the interlineation to be in Colonel Long's hand; and that his lordship does absolutely agree with the council of Jamaica, in the matter of their justification.

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NUMBER

BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XXIV.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thursday the 11th of March, 1679-80.

#### PRESENT,

Lord President,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Marquis of Worcester,

Earl of Bridgwater,
Sir Leolin Jenkins.

THEIR lordships take into consideration the state of the government in Jamaica, and agree to refer the queries following to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General, for their opinions therein; viz.

rst. Whether, from the past and present state of Jamaiea, his majesty's subjects inhabiting and trading there have a right to the laws of England, as Englishmen, or by virtue of the king's proclamation, or otherwise?

2d. Whether his majesty's subjects of Jamaica, claiming to be governed by the laws of England, are not bound as well by such laws as are beneficial to the king, by appointing taxes and subsidies for the support of the government, as by other laws, which tend only to the benefit and ease of the subject?

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3d. Whether the fubfidies of tonnage and poundage goods that may by law, or shall be directly carried to Jamaica, be not payable, according to law, by his majesty's subjects inhabiting that island, or trading there, by virtue of the acts of tonnage and poundage, or other acts made in England?

4th. Whether wine or other goods, once brought into England and transported from thence, upon which the respective abatements are allowed upon exportation, according to law, the same being afterwards carried to Jamaica and landed there, shall not be liable to the payment of the full

full duty of tonnage and poundage which it should have APPENmid if confumed in England, deducting only such part of DIX.
the said duty as shall not be repaid in England upon exmortation of the said goods from thence?

Which queries were accordingly transmitted to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General, with a paper conmining the past and present state of Jamaica, in rela-

ion to the government.

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## NUMBER XXV.

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Letter to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General.

Council-chamber, 11th March, 1679-80.

Gentlemen,

THE right honourable the lords of the committee for the and plantations, upon confideration of the affairs of famica, have stated the questions following; viz.

[Here were recited the queries stated in the preceding number.]

To which questions their lordships defire your answer in ming, with all convenient speed: and, for your information, I have inclosed a paper, containing a short account of the past and present state of the government in Jamaica; and in case you should require any further satisfaction therein, or touching the queries referred unto you, I am ordered by the lords of the committee to attend you at any time or place you shall think sit to appoint.

I am, with all respect, gentlemen, &c.

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BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XXVI.

Extrast of an order in council,

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 27th of April, 1680.

#### PRESENT,

Prince Rupert, Lord Prefident, Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Effex, Viscount Fauconberg, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

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MR. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General having like wife acquainted the committee, that, upon confideration of the four questions concerning Jamaica, referred unto then the 11th of March, they did find them of such difficult and moment as to deferve the opinion of the judges: it agreed that they be accordingly referred unto the judges upon whom Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General and defired to attend with them; Mr. Attorney having fit delivered his opinion, " that the people of Jamaica have " no right to be governed by the laws of England, but " by fuch laws as are made there, and established by his " majesty's authority." But whereas Mr. Solicitor Ge neral doth deliver his opinion, that the word "dominion," in the act of parliament for tonnage and poundage, may feem rather to imply the dominion of Wales and Berwick upon Tweed only, than to extend to the plantations; and more especially, as Mr. Attorney alledges, fince the island of Guernsey and Jersey are not concerned in that act their lordships order the two first questions only to be fent unto the judges, without any mention to be made of the two last, which particularize the act of tonnag and poundage.

APPEN-DIX.

#### NUMBER XXVII.

References to the judges about Jamaica.

Council-chamber, 27th April, 1680.

#### Gentlemen,

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I AM commanded by the right honourable the lords of the privy-council appointed a committee of trade and foreign plantations to fignify their defires, that you attend his majefty's judges with the questions following:

ist. Whether from the past and present state of Jamaica, his majesty's subjects inhabiting and trading there have a right to the laws of England, as Englishmen, or by virtue of the king's proclamation, or otherwise?

ad. Whether his majefty's subjects of Jamaica, claiming to be governed by the laws of England, are not bound a well by such laws as are beneficial to the king, by appointing taxes and subsidies for the support of the government, as by other laws, which tend only to the benefit and ease of the subject?

Which questions their lordships desire his majesty's judges to consider and answer in writing, and to return the opinions to the committee with convenient speed.

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BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XXVIII.

Order to the judges about the question of Jamaica.

At the court at Whitehall, the 23d of June, 1680,

#### PRESENT,

His Majefty,

Prince Rupert,
Archbp. of Canterbury,
Lord Chancellor,
Lord President,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Duke of Albemarle,
Mr. Coventry,
Marquis of Worcester,
Earl of Ossory,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Clarendon,

Earl of Bath,
Lord Bishop of London,

Mr. Finch,
Lord Chief Justice North,
Mr. Coventry,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchange of the Exchange of Clarendon,

Mr. Goddlphin.

IT is this day ordered in council, that Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General do attend his majesty's judges, and desire them to assemble with all convenient speed, and being assembled, to confer with them concerning this question; viz.

Whether, by his majesty's letter, proclamation, or commissions, annexed, his majesty hath excluded himself from the power of establishing laws in Jamaica, it being a conquered country, and all laws settled by authority there being now expired?

And that, upon receiving the opinions of his majesty's judges, under their hands in writing, they do report the same to the lords of the privy-council appointed a committee for trade and foreign plantations.

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APPEN-DIX.

#### NUMBER XXIX.

## Extract of an order in council.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 7th of September, 1680,

#### PRESENT,

Lard Prefident, Marq. of Worcester, Mr. Sec. Jenkins.

MR. Secretary Jenkins acquaints the committee, that Colonel Long, of Jamaica, had some days before surrented himself to him, upon a bond of ten thousand pounds with to the Earl of Carlisse to that purpose; and that he ad taken his security for the like sum, that he would stend the first council, on Friday next, being the 10th instant.

#### NUMBER XXX.

## Copy of an order in council.

ANAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall,

#### PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord Prefident,
Marquis of Worcester,
Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

THE Earl of Carlisse is called in, and delivers a paper containing a charge against Colonel Long, which is read, consisting chiefly in three points; viz. That he had razed he king's name out of the act for raising a public revenue; that

BOOK that he had granted an habeas corpus, being judge, for II. person condemned by law; and had opposed the settlement

of the country pursuant to the king's orders.

And his lordship declaring, that he had nothing more to fay against Colonel Long than was contained in that paper only referving to himself the liberty of explaining what h had therein mentioned, Colonel Long is called in, and the paper read to him; whereupon he positively denies the he had done any thing to the bill without the directions of the affembly; and that he believes the razure happened, in asmuch as the clerk of the assembly had transcribed the bill passed in Sir Thomas Lynch's time, which was not blotted out by the agreement of the governor, council, an affembly, and the words written in his hand were only a ded to make up the fense, which otherwise would have been wanting, which he did as speaker of that affembly from whom he had directions; which is confirmed by the let ters of Major Molesworth, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Ashurf Mr. Burton, and of the clerk of the affembly.

As to the granting an habeas corpus, he declares he di not know the person was condemned; and that it is use for the judges to sign blank habeas corpus's, which the

clerk gives out in courfe.

And that he never opposed the king's orders, other wise than by expressing his opinion, that they were not for his majesty's service, nor the good of the country.

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#### NUMBER XXXI.

APPEN-DIX.

Extract of an order in council.

AMAICA.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Tuesday the 12th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord Prefident,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Marquis of Worcefter,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Clarendon,

Earl of Halifax, Vifcount Fauconberg, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Godolphin, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, Mr. Seymour.

THE Earl of Carlifle attending, acquaints the committhat the act for raising a public revenue will expire in farch next, and that the government will be left under very nat necessities, in case the king do not give Sir Henry lorgan leave to pass a temporary bill, until the full settleent of affairs shall be agreed on, which is like to take up considerable time; and therefore proposes that the order council, dated the 14th of January last (which is read) rbidding the governor to raise money by any other act or ther whatfoever than by the bill transmitted by his majesty. hich the affembly will not be willing to pass until the goemment be entirely fettled in fuch manner as may be ore agreeable to them than the Irish model, be suspended. is lordship proceeds to give an account of his transactions ith the assembly to persuade them to pass the revenue and reads the objections of the affembly, and his anwer to them; whereof, and of the council-books, his lord-ip is defired to give a transcript to the committee.

There having been two laws read which were entered trein, the one made by Colonel D'Oyley and the count, for raifing imposts on liquors, the other by Sir Charles yttelton and his council, being a supplemental act to the

And his lordship acquainting the committee, that, as for tences of taverns he had set them on foot before he passed by bill of revenue:

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It is thereupon thought fit, by some of their lordships that the assembly of Jamaica be induced to pass a perpetua bill, by having leave to appropriate the revenue to the support of the government.

And the committee is appointed to meet again on this business on Thursday, at nine o'clock in the morning when Colonel Long, and the other affembly-men lately

come over, are to attend.

#### NUMBER XXXII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thurst the 14th of October, 1680,

#### PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord President,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Marquis of Worcester,
Earl of Essex,
Earl of Halifax,
Viscount Fauconberg,
Lord Chief Justice North,
Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

THE Earl of Carlisse attends, and produces an entry the council-book of Jamaica, of a law passed by Colon D'Oyley and the council, for raising a public revent and of another passed by Sir Charles Lyttelton and council, being a supplemental act to the former, bo which are indefinite, and not determined by the committons of Colonel D'Oyley or my Lord Windsor, wholed

puty Sir Charles Lyttelton was.

After which, Colonel Long and Mr. Ashurst are call in (the other gentlemen of Jamaica being in the country and being asked, Why they were not willing that a perp tual bill of revenue should pass in Jamaica? they made a swer, that they have no other way to make their aggree ances known to the king, to have them redressed, than the dependance of the governor upon the assembly, whi is preserved by passing temporary bills of revenue; a that, a perpetual bill being passed, all the ends of government would be answered, and there would be no furth need of calling assemblies. To which my Lord of Carlineed

replies, that, notwithstanding any act for raising an impost APPENon liquors should be passed in that manner, yet the necessities
and contingencies of the government are such as to require the frequent calling of assemblies, for raising money
by other means, and doing public works, the present revenue coming far short of the expence of the government.

Their lordships tell Colonel Long, that, in case they be willing and pass the act of revenue indefinitely, the king may be induced to settle other perpetual laws, which they

hall propose as beneficial to them.

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The gentlemen of Jamaica being withdrawn, their lordfhips enter upon a debate concerning a continuance of the
two laws made by Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton before mentioned, and how far the English laws and
methods of government ought to take place in Jamaica; and
it is there alledged, "that the laws of England cannot be in
"force in another country, where the constitution of the place
"is different from that of England."

Upon the whole matter, the committee defire my Lord Chief Justice North to report his opinion in writing, on

Monday next, upon the question following; viz.

ist. Whether the king, by his proclamation published during my Lord Windsor's government, his majesty's letter dated 15th of January, 1672-3, or any other act, appearing by the laws of England or any laws of Jamaica, or by his majesty's commissions or instructions to his governors, has divested himself of the power he formerly had to alter the forms of government in Jamaica?

2d. Whether any act of the affembly of Jamaica, or any other act of his majesty or his governors, have totally repealed the acts made by Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton for raising a public revenue, or whether

they are now in force?

Memorandum, His majesty being present, my Lord Chief Justice North was added to the committee.

Memorandum, Colonel Long having mentioned fome transactions of my Lord Vaughan's during his government, his lordship is to be summoned for the next meeting.

VOL. I.

X

NUMBER

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AMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Monday the 18th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Lord President, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Effex, Earl of Clarendon,

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Earl of Halifax, Lord Vifc. Fauconberg, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, Mr. Seymour.

MY Lord Chief Juffice North having acquainted the committee, that he had confidered of the two questions proposed by their lordships; and that, although some further time would be requifite for him to give in his answer, yet, in respect of the haste that was necessary for settling the revenue, his lordship undertakes to return his answer at the next meeting upon the fecond question; wherein his lordship is defired to take to his affistance some other of his majesty's judges; viz.

Whether any act of the affembly of Jamaica, or any act of his majesty or his governors, have totally repealed the acts made by Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton, for raifing a public revenue, or whether they are now in

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Charle bulling Yours was added to the committee.

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APPEN-DIX.

#### NUMBER XXXIV.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Wednesday the 20th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Lord Prefident Earl of Effex, Earl of Halifax,

Lord Chief Justice North. Earl of Sunderland, Lord Bishop of London, Earl of Bridgwater, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, Mr. Seymour.

MY Lord Chief Justice North having delivered his opinion in writing upon the question recommended to him at the last meeting, Colonel Long, Mr. Beeston, Mr. Ashurst, and other planters and merchants of Jamaica, together with the Earl of Carlisle, are called in, and his lordship's opinion is read to them; whereby his lordship concludes, that the act of revenue made in 1663, by Sir Charles Lyttelton is yet in force, as being not repealed by any subsequent acts, which were limited to the term of two years by his majesty's commands. But Colonel Long objects, that there was a law made by Sir Thomas Modyford, which declares all laws paffed at Sir Charles Lyttelton's affemblies void, for want of due form in the writs, and other particulars: whereupon they are bid to withdraw; and whereas my Lord Chief Juffice North was not present when this objection was made, their lordships think fit that he be acquainted therewith, and defired to renew his opinion; and the gentlemen of Jamaica are also defired to be ready with the objections they have to make to his lordship's report, at the next meeting, which is appointed for to-morrow at three in the afternoon.

THE YESTERN

X2 NUMBER

BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XXXV.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thursday 21st of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord Prefident,
Marquis of Worcefter,
Earl of Bridgwater,
Earl of Clarendon,
Visc. Fauconberg,
Mr. Hyde,
Lord Chief Justice North,
Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

THE lords, being met to consider the business of Jamaica, order the proclamation published in my lord Windfor's time to be read: and thereupon their lordships express their opinion, that his majesty did thereby issue and settle the property of the inhabitants, but not the government and form: thence these questions did arise; viz.

and instructions to Colonel D'Oyley, and Sir Charles Lyttelton, and the constitution of the island thereupon, the acts of council made by Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton were perpetual laws, binding to the inhabitants of the island?

2d. Whether, supposing those laws good and perpetual, any of the subsequent laws, or the proclamation in my Lord Windsor's time, have taken away the force of these laws?

And because the gentlemen of Jamaica made divers objections against the validity of those laws, as being made by the governors and council without an assembly, and against the perpetuity of them, as being repealed by subsequent laws; their lordships do therefore think it most conducing to his majesty's service, that Colonel Long, Major Beeston, and Mr. Ashurst, do attend my Lord Chief Justice North, in order to explain to his lordship what is chiefly expected by them, whereby they may be induced to settle the revenue for the support of the government, to the end matters may be brought to an accommodation.

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#### NUMBER XXXVI.

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council chamber at Whitehall, Wednesday the 27th of October, 1680,

#### PRESENT,

Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of Bath, Mr. Chancellor of Earl of Bridgwater, Earl of Halifax, the Exchequer.

MY Lord Chief Justice North reports, that he has been attended by the gentlemen of Jamaica, who have declared themselves willing to grant the king a perpetual bill for the payment of the governors, and another bill for the payment of contingencies to continue for seven years, provided they may be restored to their ancient form of passing laws, and may be affured of such of the laws of England as may concern their liberty and property.

Their lordships take notice, that the revenue of Jamaica will expire in March next, direct a letter to be prepared, for the approbation of the council, empowering Sir Henry Morgan to call an affembly, and to endeavour the passing a temporary bill, with their consent, for the revenue; and, in case of their refusal, to raise the same in such manner as both been done by former governors.

Memorandum, At the council on the instant, a draught of the aforementioned letter was read.

And upon reading the petition of the planters, merchants, and inhabitants of Jamaica, praying to be restored to their ancient method of making laws, the lords of the committee are ordered to meet de die in diem, until they shall have agreed on such a method for the making of laws, and the settlement of the government, as they shall find most convenient for his majesty's service.

NUMBER

BOOK II.

#### NUMBER XXXVII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Thursday the 28th of October, 1680,

#### PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Bridgwater,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Clarendon,
Earl of Effex,

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Earl of Halifax,
Viscount Fauconberg,
Bishop of London,
Mr. Hyde,
Lord Chief Justice North,
Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

THEIR lordships having considered that part of the letter from the council of Jamaica, dated 20th May laft, that concerns the laws, and having read the petition of the merchants and planters of Jamaica, presented in council as also a paper prepared by Mr. Blackwayt, concerning the manner of making laws in Jamaica, their lordships, upon full confideration and debate of what may best conduce to his majesty's service, agree, that the present method of making laws in Barbadoes, as fettled by the commiffion of Sir Richard Dutton, be proposed unto his majesty in council: and that powers be drawn up for the Earl of Carlifle, with inftructions fuitable to that scheme; and with respect to the present circumstances of Jamaica, and that the affembly may be the more easily induced to grant a revenue for the support of the government, their lord-Thips' are of opinion, that his majesty's quit-rents, and the tax on the wine-licences, as well as all other levies which now are or shall be made, be appropriated to the support of the government, and to no other use whatsoever.

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# APPEN-

# NUMBER XXXVIII.

#### Extract of an order in council,

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At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Saturday the 30th of October, 1680,

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Prince Rupert,

Duke of Albemarle,

Lord Chamberlain,

Earl of Effex,

Vifcount Fauconberg,

Earl of Bridgwater,

Earl of Halifax,

Tarl of Sunderland,

Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

attend, and are acquainted with the refolutions of the committee to report to his majesty, that they may enjoy the same method of making llaws as is now appointed for Barbadoes; with which the gentlemen express themselves very well fatisfied.

# 

ing, before their fitting, taken the outlik of allegion

Capy of powers to the Earl of Carlifte for making laws.

Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To our right trufty and right well-beloved cousin Charles Earl of Carlifle, our captain-general and governor in chief in and over our island of Jamaica, and other the territories depending thereon; and to our deputy-governor and commander in chief of our faid island; and, in case of their death or absence, to our council of Jamaica.

WHEREAS, by our royal commission bearing date the first of March, in the thirtieth year of our reign, we having thought sit to constitute and appoint you,

Charles

BOOK Charles Earl of Carlifle, captain-general and governor in chief in and over our island of Jamaica, and the territories depending thereon, thereby commanding and requiring you, or in your absence our deputy-governor, or ou council, to do and execute all things belonging to the fair command, and the trust reposed in you, according to the feveral powers or directions granted or appointed you be the faid commission and the instructions therewith give you, or by further powers and instructions to be grante or appointed you under our fignet and fign manual, as b our faid commission (reference being thereunto had) dot more at large appear: and whereas it is necessary that goo and wholesome laws and ordinances be settled and establish ed for the government and support of our island of Jamaica we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and au thority, with the advice and confent of the faid dounce from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or cal general affemblies of the freeholders and planters within the faid ifland, in manner and form as is now practifed it Jamaica, And our will and pleasure is, that the person thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholder of the respective parishes and places, and so returned (have ing, before their fitting, taken the oaths of allegiance an supremacy, which you shall commissionate fit persons, un der the public feal of that island, to administer, and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting, though elect ed) shall be called and held the general affembly of ou island of Jamaica; and that they, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority, with the advice and consent of yourself and of the council, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the fait island, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such other as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of our heir and fucceffors; which faid laws, flatutes, and ordinances are to be (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and flatutes of our kingdom of England: provided that all fuch laws, statutes, and ordinances, of what nature or duration whatfoever, be, within three months, or by the first conveyance after the making the same, transmitted unto us under the public feal, for our allowance and approbation of them, as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance and in case all or any of them (being not before confirmed by us) shall at any time be disallowed and not approved, and

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6 fignified by us, our heirs or fuccessors, under our or APPENheir fign manual or fignet, or by order of our or their privy-council, unto you, the faid Earl of Carlifle, or to the commander in chief of our faid island for the time being, then fuch or fo many of them as shall be so disallowed and not approved shall from thenceforth cease, determine, and eutterly void and of none effect, any thing to the conmry thereof notwithstanding, And, to the end nothing my be passed or done in our faid island by the faid council raffembly to the prejudice of us, our heirs or successors, rewill and ordain that you, the said Charles Earl of Carthe, shall have and enjoy a negative voice in the making or using of all laws, statutes, and ordinances, as aforefaid; nd that you shall and may likewise, from time to time, as ou shall judge it necessary, dissolve all general assemblies, saforesaid; any thing in our commission bearing date as sometimes to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. And our all and pleasure is, that, in case of your death or absence om our faid island, our deputy-governor for the time beg exercise and enjoy all and singular the powers and auborities hereby granted unto you, or intended to be grantyou, the said Charles Earl of Carlisle; and in case he kewise happens to die, or be absent from our said island, edo hereby authorize and empower our council of Jamica to execute the powers hereby given you, until we all declare our further pleasure therein,

> Given at our court at Whitehall, this 3d day of November, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

A set us, our beise at factorier, where our outlit and All the matters of the section of the best of the desired DA social unto you the lead had of the link, or to be the ageder let enter at our find if and for the pand being there is so that the out we there are many the course of so their a commission) from their closed could be and send ments wild and of non-thete any thing on the one bins drive paration tax of product. And are the and forms Leganor his terrord legal, that the work and so teller at ambly the perpet to or us, our house of the effort. "I sallerdain that you the taid Charles Norb of Carfilehaydand enjoy a mereliyo coxe in the making or before of days, flatters, and ordinances, as aforefull; less you find and med willing form most to time, as will redge it meditary, diffelve all greates talumbias, to the proceed necessary to the good fact as ma ha A. a sellate flat worth food it you great adjust and our an pitalize is, that, and take or your deals or ablesses a delical kland, our doubte governor for the since bethe hear range ails adapted has he voine has the interdecedly transfed union into artended to be grants remaine faul-Charles E et ac Castille, said in cife les gorde happens, he die, as he ablent toon our field inlands tent to heave see a grounding expective years as be to except the page of hereby countries, antil we. the first but bottom says are thereby

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CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

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ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS,

# CHAP. ST. O. Association

BARBADOES,

is Arrival of the English at this Island.—Origin, progress, and termination of the Proprietary Government.—Revenue granted to the Crown of 41 per centum on all Produce exported—how obtained.—Origin of the Act of Navigation.—Situation and extent of the Island.—Soil and Produce.—Population.—Decline, and Causes thereof.—Exports and Imports.

HE Island of Barbadoes, of which I now CHAP.

opose to treat, was probably first discovered the Portuguese in their voyages from Brasil;

BOOK and from them it received the name which it is retains. It was found without occupants claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altoget unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Por guese, satisfied with the splendid regions the had acquired on the Continent, seem to had acquired it as of little value. Having surified it with a breed of swine for the benefit such of their countrymen as might navigate that fame track, they left the island in all other

fpects as they found it.

Of the English, the first who are known have landed in this island, were the crew of ship called the Olive Blossom, bound from La don to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the pence of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas sti a worshipful knight of Kent.' Finding it wi out inhabitants, they took possession of the cou try, by fixing up a cross on the spot where fum Town was afterwards built, with this inferious " James King of England and this island;" they began no fettlement, nor made any con derable stay in a country entirely uninhabit and overgrown with woods; yet it furnish They found pi them with fresh provisions. pigeons, and parrots, and the fea abounded wi fish.

Some years after this, a ship of Sir Willia Courteen's, a merchant of London, returns from Brasil, was driven by stress of weather to this island, and finding refreshments on the master and seamen, on their arrival in Enland, made so savourable a report of the beau and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley sterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Hi

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as the First a grant of the island to himself I.

Courteen himfelf was a man of extensive views magnificent projects. He immediately be-(probably under the patronage of Marlbogh) to form ideas of establishing a colony in distant but promising territory. Having ened about thirty persons, who undertook to the in the island, and furnished them with s, provisions and necessaries of all kinds for nting and fortifying the island, he appoint-William Deane their governor, and fent them y in a ship called the William and John, comnded by John Powell. They arrived fafe the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the modations of a town, which, in honour of the creign, they denominated JAMES-TOWN; and s began the first English settlement in the nd of Barbadoes.

for some time previous to this, it had become ionable for men of 'high rank and distinction agage in fea adventures, proclaiming thenites the patrons of colonization and foreign merce. In the lifts of those who contributto the British settlements in Virginia, New gland, the Bermuda Islands, and other places the New World, may be found the names of by of the first nobility and gentry of the gdom. Among others who diftinguished melves in such pursuits, at the time that Bar-bes was thus planted by a private merchant, James Hay, Earl of Carlifle. This noblewas at that juncture engaged in the estament of a colony in the island of St. Chrisher (as we shall hereafter have occasion more ticularly to relate) and, either not knowing the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or coning that it interfered with his own preten-

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BOOK fions\*, he applied for and obtained, in the year of Charles I. a warrant for a grant, by ters patent under the great feal of Engle of all the Charaibean Islands, including Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be tually passed, the Earl of Marlborough opp ed it, on the ground of priority of right. dispute between these noble lords continued a confiderable time; at length the contend parties thought it prudent to compromise matter, and, on the Earl of Carlifle's under ing to pay the annual fum of f. 300 to the I of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marl rough waved his patent, and, in confequence this arrangement, on the 2d of June 1627, Earl of Carlifle's patent paffed the great feal, w thereupon became fole proprietor f.

> \* It is faid that he had obtained from James I. age or warrant for a grant, under the great feal, of all the raibean Islands, which the king erected into a province by name of Carliola, on the model of the palatinate of Durh † Among other clauses in this grant are the following " Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and success have authorized and appointed the faid James Earl of Co and his heirs (of whole fidelity, prudence, justice, and dom, we have great confidence) for the good and happy vernment of the faid province, whether for the publical rity of the faid province or the private utility of every to make, erect, and fet forth, and under his or their h to publish, such laws as he the said Earl of Carlifle or heirs, with the confent, affent, and approbation of the free bitants of the faid province, or the greater part of them, there to be called, and in fuch form as he or they in his or their cretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all for the time being, that do live within the limits of faid province, observe; whether they be bound to sea from thence returning to England, or any other our do nions, or any other place appointed, upon fuch impositi penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, and quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body death itfelf, to be executed by the faid James Earl of Can and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, jul magifin

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During this contest about the disposal of coun- CHAP. s, most of which were at that time in the nds of their proper owners, the Charaibes; man, who alone had the merit of annexing plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of gland feems to have been shamefully neglect-The Earl of Marlborough, having fecured

plirates, officers, and ministers, according to the tenor true meaning of these presents, in what cause soever, and fuch power as to him the faid James Earl of Carlifle, or heir, shall seem best; and to dispose of offences or riots ed, or after remitted, freed, pardoned, or forgiven; and band to perform all and every thing and things, which he fulfilling of justice, courts or manner of proceeding in tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although mis mention of them in these presents be not made, yet we egranted full power by virtue of these presents therein to ade; which laws so absolutely proclaimed, and by strength ight supported as they are granted, we will, enjoin, charge, command all and every fubject and liege people of us, our hand fucceffors, fo far as them they do concern, inviolably tep and observe, under the pains therein expressed; so as withstanding the aforesaid laws be agreeable and not repugtunto reason, nor against it; but as convenient and agreetumay be to the laws, flatutes, customs, and rights of our glom of England."-" We will also, of our princely grace, u, our heirs and fucceffors, straightly charge, make, and ain, that the faid province be of our allegiance, and that all every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, ught or to be brought, and their children, whether there n or afterwards to be born, become natives and subjects u our heirs and successors, and be as free as they that were n in England; and so their inheritance within our kingof England, or other our dominions, to feek, receive, t, hold, buy, and posses, and use and enjoy them as his and to give, fell, alter, and bequeath them at their aure; and also freely, quietly, and peaceably to have and less all the liberties, franchifes, and privileges of this dom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of Engation, vexation, injury, or trouble of us our heirs and refors, any flatute, act, ordinance, or proviso, to the con-7 notwith Randing.

BOOK to himself and his posterity, the gratification III. have mentioned, deserted him; and the Low Carlisle, having done him premeditated injur became his irreconcileable enemy. Courtee however, found a friend in William Earl Pembroke, who represented his case in such light to the King, as to obtain a revocation Carlisle's patent, and a grant to himself in the for Courteen.

But the hopes of this worthy citizen were short continuance. The Earl of Carlifle was, that juncture, absent from the kingdom, a d cumstance which gave some colour to his chan of injustice and precipitancy in the proceeding On his return to England, he complained that had been condemned and deprived of his prope ty unheard; and the monarch on the thron who feems, through the whole of his unfort nate reign, rather to have wanted refolution purfue the right path, than fagacity to difee it, trod back his ground a fecond time; for, u able to refift the clamorous importunity of worthless favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the Earl of Pembroke, and, by fecon fetters patent to the Earl of Carlifle, again refto ed to him the privileges of which he had him felf, a short time before, deprived him.

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Thus by an act of power, which its repugnately and absurdity alone, rendered illegal, the Earl of Carlisse again found himself lord par mount of Barbadoes; and in order completely ruin all the interests in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to distribute the lands to fuch persons as chose to receive grants at he hands on the terms proposed to them. A focity of London merchants \* accepted ten thousand

The names of those merchants were Marmaduke Bra don, William Perkin, Alexander Banister, Robert Wheat Edmo

ecres, on conditions which promifed great ad- CHAP. vantage to the proprietor; but they were allowed the liberty of fending out a person to preside over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpose of Charles Woolferstone, who repaired to the island, accompanied with fixty-four persons, each of whom was authorized to take up 100 acres of land.

These people landed on the 5th of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's fettlement was in a very promising condition; but Woolferstone declared an incroachment and usurpation, and, being supported by the arrival of Sir William Tufton, who was fent out as chief governor by Lord Carlille, in 1629, with a force sufficient for the maintenance of his pretensions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to fubmit; and the interests of the latter were thenceforth swallowed

up and forgotten \*.

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The facts which I have thus recited have been related fo often by others, that an apology might be necessary for their infertion in this work, were it not, that by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct fome imporant errors in each. And the claim of the Earl of Carlifle having originally introduced and established the very heavy internal imposition on their gross produce, to which the planters of this, and fome of the neighbouring islands, are to this day liable; I have thought it necessary to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim ifelf from the beginning. In what manner it Vol. I. produced

Edmond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John Charles, and John Farringdon.

In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of and, comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d of February, 1630, he paffed divers laws, and among others one for dividing the island into fix parishes.

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BOOK produced the burthen in question, and how Bar III. badoes reverted from a proprietary to a roys government, I shall now proceed to relate.

The administration of Sir William Tuftor the first governor appointed by Lord Carline proving difagreeable to his lordship, Captain Henry Hawley was fent over in 1631 to super fede him. Tufton refenting this measure, pro cured the fignatures of fome of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he ha him tried and condemned by a court-martial and with very little ceremony caufed him to b fhot to death; a proceeding univerfally exclaim ed against as a most horrid and attrocious mus Hawley, however, though recalled on thi account, not only escaped punishment through the interest of his noble patron, but was soo afterwards fent back again as chief governor in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who however per mitted his brother William Hawley to act a commander in chief until a governor should be nominated at home. He was fucceeded by Ma jor Hunckes, who, leaving the island in 1641 appointed Philip Bell, Esquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor\*

\* During the administration of this gentleman, many salutary laws were passed; among others the following:

<sup>1</sup>st. "An ast for the continuance and observation of all acts and statutes not repealed;" which Act recites that there were divers and sundry good and wholesome laws, statutes and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, assigned, and agreed upon, by and with the affent, consent, and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every parish of the island, intituled A General Assembly for that purpose.

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But the conduct of Hawley, thus violent and CHAP. bloody, and the support which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new fettlers from power thus delegated and abufed; and the proprietor's authority loft ground every day. In the mean time, the civil war in England caused many people, of peaceable tempers and dispositions, to take refuge in this island; and the confequent ruin of the King's affairs induced a still greater number, many of whom had been officers of rank in his fervice, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother counmy to this island was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes. alf of them able to bear arms, and furnishing

ple cleded, made, and chosen. And it is thereby enacted, that some of those laws shall be altered, or any thing added to them, without the consent of a like General Assembly. And that every parish should have two representatives at least, to be elected by the freeholders.

2d. "An addition to an Act intitled, "An Act for fettling the estates and titles of the inhabitants of this island to their possessions in their several plantations within the same:" it is therein recited, that in a clause in the first act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this island, that were in quiet posfellion of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the same warrant, should have, hold, and enjoy the same, as their free estate: and, as some scruples had ance arisen, whether an estate for life or inheritance might be construed from the same, for want of the words their beirs; to the intent the same might be more fully explained, and all diputes of that kind for the future abolished, it is enacted, that by the words as their free estates, was meant, the whole glate and inheritance of the respective plantations within this illand, so that by such possession in manner as by the said act sexpressed, the said inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to dispose of or alienate, or otherwise to descend, or he confirmed to their heirs for ever."

BOOK even a regiment of horse to the number of one III. thousand.

"These adventurers," says Lord Clarendon, planted without any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body." The case seems to have been, that the governor for the time being granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly and filently relin-

quished.\*

The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then Earl of Carlifle, who was fon and heir of the patentee, stimulated by the renown of its wealth and prosperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and, entering into a treaty with Lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by leafe for twentyone years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean time; but justly apprehending that the refident planters might dispute his pretentions, he very readily concurred with Lord Willoughby in foliciting a commission for the latter, as chief governor, under the fanction of regal authorityt.

This, though an absolute dereliction of the proprietaryship, was asked and obtained; and the Lord Willoughby, thus commissioned, em-

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\* Lord Carlifle had originally stipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each person who held lands under his grant.

† When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commission therefore, with his Majesty's privity and approbation, was signed by the Prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

barked for his government; and, in confideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's interest, with respect and obedience. It seems probable, that, at his first coming, he said nothing of his lease from Carlisle; trusting rather to future management for the re-establishment of that lord's pretensions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by Clarendon, that he obtained from the plauters a promise of a contribution to the proprietor; but before it was carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republic, by whom another governor was appointed.

On the restoration of Charles II. and the reelablishment of the royal authority over all the British dominions\*, Lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of his leafe unexpired, applied to the King for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inlabitants, if his lordship had considered himself merely as representative of the crown; but his connection and contract with the Earl of Carlifle, were by this time fufficiently understood by the planters, who faw with aftonishment that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their possessions. They solicited therefore the King's support and protection. "They pleaded," fays Clarendon, "that they

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On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetige, in consideration of their loyalty and sufferings during the civil war: They were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacken, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

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BOOK were the King's subjects; that they had repaired to Barbadoes as to a defolate place, and had be their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay is England; that if they should now be left to those lords to ranfom themselves and compound in their estates, they must leave the country, and the plantation be destroyed, which yielded hi Majesty so great a revenue." Respecting th charter granted to the Earl of Carlifle, they in fifted positively that it was void in law; and the made two humble propositions to the King either that his Majesty would give them leaved institute in his name, but at their own cost, process in the Exchequer for trying the validit of the earl's patent; or that he would leave tho who claimed under it (for the second Earl of Carlifle dying in the interim, had bequeather his rights in the West Indies to the Earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, absolutely de nying that either the late or former Lord Carliff had fustained the smallest expence in settling th colony.

> Instead of consenting to either of those mo reasonable propositions, the King ordered enqui ry to be made into the feveral allegations an claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom some of the planters being heard, one of them, in orde more readily to induce the King to take the fove reignty of the island into his own hands, offered in the name of the inhabitants, to confent, il that case, to lay an imposition of so much in th hundred on the produce of their estates, ou of which his Majesty's governor might be ho nourably supported, and the King dispose of the overplus as he should think fit. To a monarc of Charles's disposition, this was too tempting proposition

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proposition to be resisted. We are informed that CHAP. his Majesty received the offer very graciously; " and the next care of the committee," adds the noble historian, who was himself of that body, " was to make some computation, that might be depended upon, as to the yearly revenue, that would arise upon the imposition within the iland." But the planters, when called up the next day to give fatisfaction in this particular, infifted that Mr. Kendall, the person who had made the offer, had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the illand; and the utmost they could be brought to promise for themselves was, that they would use their endeavours with their friends in the island, to fettle fuch a revenue on the crown as the circumfances of the colony would admit of, which they faid the affembly alone was competent to determine.

The prospect of a revenue, though stidant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the Earl of Carlifle, the patentee, who was indebted, it feems, at his death, in the fum of 1.80,000, and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possesfions. The heirs of the Earl of Marlborough likewife put in their claim for the arrearage of the annuity of £.300, granted under the original compromise which I have before mentioned; and the Lord Willoughby infifted at the same time on receiving a moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his leafe. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the Earl of Kinnoul.

To fatisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole aim of the King's ministers;

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BOOK by whom, after a tedious but partial investigation (considering the colony as wholly at the
King's mercy) it was finally ordered, that the
Lord Willoughby should immediately repair to
his government, and insist on the grant and
establishment by the assembly of a permanent
and irrevocable revenue of four and a half per
cent. to be paid in specie, on all dead commodi-

First, towards an honourable and immediate provision for the Earl of Kinnoul, who, it was alledged, had facrificed his fortune in the King's

fervice, and who covenanted, on fuch provision

ties, the growth of the island, shipped to any

port of the world; the money arising therefrom

being fecured to him, to furrender the Carlifle patent to the crown.

Secondly, towards fatisfaction and full difcharge of Earl of Marlborough's annuity.

Thirdly, it was stipulated that the surplus should be divided equally between the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle and the Lord Willoughby, during the term yet unexpired of his lordship's lease. On the expiration thereof, the remainder, after providing £1,200 per annum for the King's governor for the time being, was ordered to be paid among the said creditors till their demands were fully satisfied and discharged.

Fourthly, on the extinction of those several incumbrances, it was stipulated that the whole revenue, subject to the charge of £.1,200 per annum to the governor, should be at the disposal

of the crown.

On these terms it was understood that the proprietary government was to be dissolved, and that the planters were to consider themselves as legally confirmed in possession of their estates, efti-

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and to carry into effect the important point, on CHAP. which the whole arrangement depended (the I. grant of a perpetual revenue by the assembly) the Lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

It is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordship's arrival, though devoted to the interefts of the crown, should have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the British government in the progress and conclusion of the whole business. Clarendon himself confesses that the grant to Carlisle was voidable by law. The King therefore laid them under no meat obligation in obtaining a furrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in consequence of the exertions in support of the regal cause during the avil war: by the late fettlement they perceived regard expressed towards every interest conemed but their own; and the return which they met with, both for their former services, and also for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent state by their recent abours, was a demand of a contribution, which they stated would amount to ten per cent. on the clear profits of their effates for ever.

But their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The king and his governor, were too deeply interested to recede. The assembly was called upon to forge chains for themselves and their children; and, if persuasion should fail, force was not only at hand, but was assually employed to compel them to submission. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in opposition, was arrested and sent prisoner to England, on a charge of mutiny and treason, nor was he released till after a tedious and severe consinement. Awed by this example, and sensible that no

**fupport** 

BOOK support could be expected from the people at home, whose privileges lay prostrate at the seed of the restored monarch, the assembly passed an act for the purposes required of them; and their posterity still bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear, the burthen of it \*.

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\* I have thought it may be satisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of perusing the Act at large, which therefore subjoin, premising, that the clause which exempts the lands called the 10,000 acres, and also that which stipulate for the building a session house, and a prison, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government out of the monies to be raised by the Act, have been equally diffregarded by the crown. The session house and prison were not finished until the year 1730, and the expence (upwards o £.5,000) was then destrayed by a special tax on the inhabit tants; and there was raised by other taxes no less a sum that £.19,44. 1s. 4d. in three years (viz. from 1745 to 1748) so the repair of the fortifications.

An ACT for fettling an Impost on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island; passed the 12th of Septem ber, 1663.—No 36.

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the First, bleffed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great fer of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carliff and his heirs for ever, the propriety of this island of Barba does: And his facred Majesty that now is having by purchal invested himself in all the rights of the said Earl of Carlille and in all other rights which any other person may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby, more immed ately and particularly, hath taken this island into his roy protection. And his most excellent Majesty having, by letter patent under the great feal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointe his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captail general and chief governor of Barbadoes, and all the Carribbee Islands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm and affure to the inhabitants of the fame, and their heirs, to ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under h Majesty's great seal appointed for Barbadoes and the rest the Carribbee Islands, as, relation being thereunto had, ma The conduct of the Lord Chancellor Claren- CHAP. don in this affair, who indeed appears to have been

and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the faid Earl of Carlifle's patent, divers governors and agents have been fent over hither, with authority to lay out, fet, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this island, to fuch persons as they should think fit: which was by them, in their respective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for their faid lands, and others, by reason of the ignorances of those, want sufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them and their heirs, and others that never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proof of any grants or warrants they ever had for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet possessions of the same, and bestowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compositions formerly raised to the Earl of Carlifle, was held very heavy: For a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the poffellions and fettling the tenures of the inhabitants of this island; Be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the affembly, and by the authority of the same, that, notwithstanding the defects afore-related, all the now rightful pofferfors of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within this island, according to the laws and customs thereof, may at all times repair unto his Excellency for the full confirmation of their estates and tenures, and then and there shall and may receive fuch full confirmation and affurance, under his Majesty's great feal for this island, as they can reasonably advise or defire, according to the true intent and meaning of this Act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth absolutely and fully released and made void; and that the inhabitants of this illand have and hold their feveral plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common foceage, yielding and paying therefore, at the feast of St. Michael every year, if the fame be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever, in full and free discharge of all rents and services for the future whatsoever, in confideration of the release of the said forty pounds,

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and in confideration of the confirmation of all effates in this island as aforesaid, and in acknowledgment of his Ma. jesty's grace and favour in fending to and appointing over us his faid Excellency, of whose prudence and moderate go. vernment we have heretofore had large experience, and do reft most assured thereof for the future. And, forasmuch as no. thing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every fingle person therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the public charges and expences; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necesfity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majesty's authority here; the public meeting of the festions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a sessions bouse and a prison, and all other public charges incumbent on the government; do, in confideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and do most humbly defire your Excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your Excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all other the Caribbee Iflands, and by and with the confent of the council and the gentlemen of the affembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the same, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raifed upon the native commodities of this illand, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter fet down and appointed; that is to fay, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and fuccessors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five fcore.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That if any goods before-mentioned, on which the faid cuftom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel; to the intent to be carried into any parts beyond the leas, the faid imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for

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give occasion to the eighth article of his im-CHAP, peachment by the House of Commons in the year

that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies, for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the said act, that then, and from thenceforth, shall the said goods be forseit, the moiety thereof to be to our sovereign lord the ling, and the other to him that shall inform, seize, and sue for the same in any court of record within this island; which grants are left to your excellency's own way of levying, in full considence and affurance that your excellency will take such course for the collecting and gathering of the said impost, without any charge, duty or sees, as may be most for

the ease of the people of this island.

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for that Provided nevertheless, That neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend or be construed to bar his majedy, or his said excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the sea, since the year one thousand six hundred and sifty, or to any lando commonly called or known by the name of the Ten Thousand Acres; the merchants land, granted by the late Farl of Carlisle, or his stater, unto Marmaduke Rawden, Esquire, William Perlins, Alexander Bannister, Edmund Forster, Captain Wheat-ky, and others their affociates, on certain covenants and conditions: Provided also, that the growth and produce of the said lands, mentioned in the preceding proviso, be not liable to any tax, impost, or custom, imposed by this ast; any thing in the same seeming to the contrary not with slanding.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That one act made the seventeenth day of January one thousand six hundred and sifty, intituled, An act importing the customs imposed and granted by the council, and gentlemen of the assembly, to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Lieutenant General of the Province of Carliola, and Governor of Barbadoes; as also, his lordship's construction of the right of the inhabitants of this island to their several estates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be, and is from hencesorth repealed, made void, frustrate, of none effect to all intents, constructions, and pur-

poles whatfoever.

In 1684, the affembly of this island proposed to farm the sour and half per cent. for eleven years, for the annual rent of £. 6,000 sterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor

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BOOK year 1667. From his answer to that article, I have collected (chiefly in his own words) great part of the account that I have given; and there cannot be a stronger demonstration of the tendency of power to pervert the judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wisest and worthiest of men, than the justification he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having advised the king to possess himself of the whole island of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the issue.

The profecution of this great statesman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the suffering planters; for in this, as in many other cases, the redress of a grievance, and the punishment of its author, were objects of very distinct consideration. Those who sought the ruin of Clarendon, had nothing less in view than the removal of oppression, from subjects so re-

mote as those of Barbadoes.

In thus tracing the origin, progress, and termination of the Proprietary Government in this

vernor and council concurred, and it was agreed that £.7,000 currency per annum should be raised by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed £. 500 sterling. An act passed March 19th 1684, for this purpose, and was sent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commissioners of the customs with whom they had advised, were of opinion that they could make no estimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at least; and that the commissioners appointed for managing the said duty in Barbadoes, had assured them the duty would be worth from £.8,000 to £. 10,000 per annum. So the act was repealed.

This proposal to farm the four and a half per cent. duty, was made in consequence of Governor Dutton's fignifying to the council and affembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his majesty was inclined to commute the tax, for a reasonable recom-

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island, I have purposely chosen not to break the CHAP. thread of my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that subject. Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, circumstances however arose, respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great Britain, ascannot be overlooked in an historical and commercial survey of her West Indian plantations, and of which I shall now give some account.

The reader has been sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians to the regal government. One of the first acts passed by the assembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the first time, (1647) was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the First, at that time a prifoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in this island, that the sew planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament, thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish such stubborn defenders of a ruined cause, the parliament resolved, in 1651, to send apowerful armament for the reduction of all the English colonies in America and the West Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of them all.

Many, indeed, were the motives which instigated the parliament to this determination. From the beginning of the commotions in the mother country, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this necessary navigation, many of the ships and seamen of Holland; and at this juncture the English government entertained very hostile intentions towards the subjects of that republic.

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BOOK public. The reduction of Barbadoes would a once punish the colonists, and enable the English parliament to deprive the Dutch of so profitable an intercourse with them; it would also enrich the treasury of the new government, by the confication of many valuable ships and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other islands. The parliament had reason likewise, it was said, to apprehend that Prince Rupert, with a squadron of the king's ships, was about crossing the Atlantic to secure all the English American possessions so Charles the Second.

Ayfcue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed in this expedition, arrived a Barbadoes on the 16th of October, 1651, and fucceeded at length in bringing the island to ca pitulate \*: But this was not effected without great difficulty; for he met with fo flout a refif tance, as determined his employers at home imme diately to enforce a scheme they had projected a thort time before, of altering the whole fystem of the Barbadian commerce; by prohibiting by an ad of the commonwealth, all foreign shipping from trading with the English plantations; and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufac-

<sup>\*</sup> Ayscue agreed, among other things, that the government should consist of a governor, council and assembly, according to the ancient and usual custom of the island. The assembly to be chosen by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the island, in the several parishes. That no taxes, customs, imposts, loans or excise, should be laid, nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island, without their consent in a general assembly; and that all laws that had been made by general assemblies, not repugnant to the laws of England, should be good.

ture. And thus arose the famous navigation act CHAP. of this kingdom; for, immediately after the reftoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the mafter and three fourths of the mariners, should also be English subjects.

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l laws ant to Whatever advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived from this celebrated law, it must be allowed that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great writer\* hath observed) than those of punishing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly confidering the law as a chastifement inslicted on them by the commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Second. were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its provisions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have fo largely spoken, they thought themselves treated with a rigour which bordered on ingatitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effects of those measures. How far their predictions have been accomplished, a comparative flate of the island at different periods will demonstrate; with which, and a few miscellaneous observations, I shall dismiss my present account.

Barbadoes is fituated in 13° 10' N. lat. and m longitude 50° W. from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. The foil in the low lands is black, somewhat reddish in to never behazari or at or at

VOL. I.

Larbedoos was as he at core moved by

<sup>\*</sup> Blackstone.

BOOK the shallow parts; on the hills of a chalky mark and near the sea generally sandy. Of this variety of soil, the black mould is best suited for the cultivation of the cane, and, with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of sugar, in favourable seasons, as any in the West Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitts ex

cepted.

That the foil of this island is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we must necessarily admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are transmitted down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are assured that about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boast of fifty thousand white, and upwards of one hundred thousand black inhabitants, whose labour it is said, gave employment to sixty thousand tons of shipping\*. I suspect that this account

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The earliest planters of Barbadoes were sometimes n proached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into flave the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The History Inele and Tarice, which the Spectator has recorded for the detectation of mankind, took its rife in this Island; but happi this species of flavery has been long since abolished: and pe haps fuch of my readers as have sympathized with the unforth nate Yarico, may not be forry to hear that she bore her mi fortunes with greater philosophy than they have hitherto fit cied. The story was first related by Ligon, who (after prair ing poor Yarico's excellent complexion, which, he fays, w " a bright bay," and her small breafts " with nipples " porphyrie") observes, that " fhe chanc't afterwards to ! " with child by a Christian fervant, and being very great walked down to a woode, in which was a pond of water " and there, by the fide of the pond, brought herfelfe a-be " and in three hours came home with the childe in her arm " a lufty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of Inkle the merchant, however, admits of no palliation; but it is ridical lous enough to hear Abbé Raynal (willing to improve upo Addison) ascribe to it an intended revolt of all the Negrot in Barbadoes, who, as he afferts, moved by indignation

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much exaggerated. It cannot however be CHAP. doubted, that the inhabitants of this island have decreased with a rapidity seldom known in any other country. I have now before me authentic returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former confisted of no more than eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of fixty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy. In 1786 the numbers were fixteen thousand one hundred and fixty-seight free people of colour, and fixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

It appears too that the annual produce of this island (particularly sugar) has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West Indian colonies. Postlethwayte states the crop of fugar, in 1736, at 22,760 hogheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt.; and the author of the European Settlements, published in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogsheads. As the author first quoted, gives a precise number, it is probable his statement was grounded on good authority. If fo, the island has fallen off nearly one half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogsheads of sugar, 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The 2 2 exports,

Inkle's monstrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the destruction of all the Whites; but their plot was discovered the night before it was to have been carried into effect. The Histoire Philosophique has a thousand beauties; but it grieves me to say, that in point of historical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the History of Robinson Crusoe.

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BOOK exports, on an average of 1784, 1785 and 1786, III. had fallen to 9,554 hogfheads of fugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of some smaller articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the

quantities are not ascertained.

That the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation, cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of Ostober 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at £.1,320,564. 155. Sterling.

It might have been prefumed, however, from the favourable feafons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, fince the failure of their fugar plantations, the inhabitants have found fome resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not feem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever reftoring this island to its ancient splendour and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of 41 per cent. on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have fo largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the courage and virtue to fignify to the fovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor confistent with the character of the common father of all his subjects, CHAP. to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which, though nominally granted by themselves, was assured by fraud and oppression, and of which the continuance is a check to honest industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of the decline of this beautiful and once valuable

colony.

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Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and deven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridgetown, Offins or Charles Town, St. James's (formery called The Hole) and Speight's Town. Bridgetown, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, confifted of about fifteen hundred houses, which were mostly built of brick; and it is still the feat of government, and may be alled the chief refidence of the governor, who sprovided with a country villa called Pilgrims, fruated within a mile of it: his falary was nifed by Queen Ann from twelve hundred to wo thousand pounds per annum, the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half per cent. duty. The form of the government of this island so very nearly resembles that of amaica, which has already been described, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except to observe that the council is composed of twelve members, and the affembly of twentytwo. The most important variation respects the ourt of chancery, which in Barbadoes is multituted of the governor and council, whereas a Jamaica the governor is fole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the goverpor fits in council, even when the latter are acting in a legislative capacity. This, in Jamaica would be confidered improper and unconstitutional

BOOK conflitutional. It may also be observed, that the courts of grand sessions, common pleas and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are distinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

I shall close my account of Barbadoes with the following authentic document:

THE THIN DEVALUATION OF BLUOW

CHAP.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Number of Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Island of BARBADOES to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787, and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London, as made out by the Inspector General of

The Bank	v.	hipping		Sugar.	Rum.	Melaffe.	Ginger.	Cotton.	Fuffic	Mifcellancous Articles.	TOTAL Value
	No	Tons	Men.	Cwt. qre. be.	Gallons.	Gallone.	Cort qrs. lb.h.	lbe.	Cur. qrs. lb.	Value.	Spreeable to the London Market.
To Great Britain Ireland — American States Br. Amer. Colonies Foreign W. Indies Africa	3 444 44	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	EN START	130,24c - 16 2,114c - 1 2,74c 1,74c	25,629 25,250 25,250 21,650 200,4	2,1   1,10 gg   1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1	## ## # !	26.00   1	11111	45.5 45.5 4.5 5.5 5.5 5.5 5.5 5.5 5.5 5.	- 20 - 20 - 20 - 20 - 20 - 20 - 20 - 20
Total - 34112	1	16.037	1,042	91 - 994.711	415,489	11.480	C. 562 2 18	2,70K,97	2 - 340	46,124 7 11	¢14,60¢ 14 10

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Grenada and its Dependencies.

First discovery, name and inhabitants.—French invasion and establishment in 1650 .- War with, and extermination of the natives .- This island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac. Misconduct and punishment of the deputy governor .- The colony reverts to the crown of France.-State of the island in 1700.-And again in 1762, when captured by the English .-Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants. -First measures of the British government .-Claim of the crown to levy a duty of 42 per cent. on produce exported .- Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the court of king's bench on this important question. -Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord chief justice on this occasion .- Transactions within the colony.—Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholic capitulants .- Internal dissentions.—Defenceles state.—French invasion in 1779.—Brave defence of the garrison.—Unconditional surrender.—Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors. -Redress given by the court of France.-Grenada, &c. restored to Great Britain by the peace of 1783.—Present state of the colony in respect to cultivation, productions and exports; government and population.

GRENADA was discovered by, and received its name from, Christopher Columbus in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it possessed by a numerous and warlike people, amongst

amongst whom it does not appear that the Spa. CHAP niards ever attempted to force a settlement. II. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapsed before the other nations of Europe considered the regions of the new world as countries, wherein all men might seize on what suited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obscurity until the year 1650, when the avaince and ambition of a restless individual devoted them to destruction.

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This person was Monf. Du Parquet, the French pvernor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Defnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Christopher. Notwithstanding that the French establishment in Martinico was itself of recent date, and that a great part of that island still remained uncultivated; and although another establishment was, at the same ime, begun by the fame nation, in the large and fertile island of Guadaloupe, yet such was the rapaciousness of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were eafily collefted by Du Parquet's encouragement for an atlempt on Grenada; and it is apparent, from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was confidered as an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

The history of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father in Tertre, whose account exhibits such a mon-frous mixture of fanaticism and knavery in the conduct of its leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. Although it is evident that the French had not the smallest justifiable pretence for this invasion, yet we find the commanders administering the

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BOOK holy facrament, in the most folerm manner, to all the foldiers on their embarkation; and again on their landing, Du Parquet, causing a cross to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty

God, for fuccess to their enterprize.

This commander feems however to have had few scruples of conscience concerning the just tice of his proceedings; for, having been received and entertained with the utmost kindness and cordiality by the natives (contrary to his expectation, and perhaps to his wishes) he thought it necessary to affect some little regard to mode ration, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchase of the country. He gave the natives (observes Du Tel tre) some knives and hatchets, and a large quanti ty of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself; and thus (continues he) was the island fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themselves in lawful purchase! As ter this notable transaction, it is not wonderful that the French should consider the refusal of the poor favages to confirm the agreement, a contumacy and rebellion.

Du Parquet, having thus established a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection left the government of the island to a kinsman named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who possessed very singular talents for government; and was remarkable for clemency and humanity. We find this gentleman however eight months afterwards, engaged in a mol bloody war with the Charaibes; in the prosecution of which he authorized such acts of cruekty as surnish a portrait of him very different from that which the historian has exhibited On receiving news of the revolt of the natives

Du Parquet fent a reinforcement of three CHAP. hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte feems not to have wanted any incitement to ads of barbarity; for Du Tertre admits that he had already proceeded to murder, without merev, every Charaibe that fell into his hands; not paring even the women and children.

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Of the manner in which this humane and accomplished commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hostilities against these miseable people, we may form an idea, from a circomstance that occurred in one of their expediions, of which the reverend historian condudes his narrative as follows: " Forty of the Charaibes were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably pe rifled. A beautiful young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the conteft, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into to the sea, has been called ever fince le Morne des Sauteurs. \* Our people (having loft but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to fet fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the favages, and, having destroyed, or taken away, every thing belonging to them, returned in high spirits," (bien joyeux.)

By a feries of fuch enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that possessed Grenada in 1650, was

fpeedily

<sup>\*</sup> Leapers Hill.

BOOK speedily exterminated, and the French, having III. in this manner butchered all the natives, proceed. ed, in the next place, to massacre each other.

The particulars of this civil contest may, without injury to my readers, be omitted. I shall therefore only observe, that the supreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length established in Grenada; but the expence which had attended the plantation from its outset, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to surnish in support of his authority, had so greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaser of all his rights and possessions in this island and its dependencies. In 1656 such a purchaser offered in the Count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was

conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

The conduct of Cerillac towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominion was highly injudicious and oppressive. He appointed a governor of fo arrogant and rapacious a disposition, and supported him in his extortions with such obstinacy, as to compel the most respectable of the fettlers to quit the country and feek for fafety under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the administration of justice into their own hands; by seizing on the person of the governor, and bringing him to a public trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged; but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His request would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the business of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by confenting that he should be shot, and he suffered in that mode with great composure.

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Some years after this, Monsieur de Cerillac, CHAP. the proprietor, receiving, as it may be supposed, the profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and interest in Grenada, &c. to the French West-Indian company; whose charter being about the island from thenceforward became vested in the crown of France.

Under the various revolutions and calamities which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined that cultivation had made but little progress in it; but although order and submission were at length introduced by the stablishment of the royal authority, various caustonic concurred to keep the colony in a state of potenty and depression for many years afterwards. Iven so late as 1700, if Raynal has been rightly mormed, the island contained no more than 251 whites and 525 blacks; who were employed on 3 plantations of sugar, and 52 of indigo.

After the peace of Utrecht, the government of fance began to turn its attention towards her West Indian possessions. Grenada however, for many years, partook less of its care than the rest. thad no constant correspondence with the moher country: fome oppressive regulations of the mers-general ruined the cultivation of one of aftaples, tobacco: and the planters had not the teans of obtaining a supply of negroes from frica, fufficient for the purpose of cultivating gar to any extent. These inconveniencies led hem into a fmuggling intercourse with the Dutch: resource which at length changed their circumances for the better; encreased their numbers ad occasioned a great part of the country to be ttled, infomuch that when, in the year 1762, e fortune of war made the English masters of is and the rest of the French Charaibee Islands, renada and the Grenadines are faid to have yielded

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BOOK yielded annually, in clayed and muscovado for III. gar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogshead of muscovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 hogshead and muscovado for musco

lbs. of indigo.

Grenada furrendered on capitulation in Febr ary 1762, and, with its dependencies, was final ceded to Great Britain by the definitive treaty peace at Paris on the 10th of February 176 St. Lucia being restored at the same time France. The chief stipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the ar cles of capitulation, were thefe; 1st. That, they would become by their furrender, subject of Great Britain, they should enjoy their property ties and privileges, and pay taxes, in like man as the rest of his Majesty's subjects of the other B tifb Leeward Islands. 2dly, with respect to re gion, they were put on the same footing as the habitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given the to exercise it according to the rites of the Rom church, as far as the lagus of Great Britain perm ted. 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grena as chose to quit the island, should have liberty to do, and eighteen months should be allow them to dispose of their effects.

The illand and its dependencies being thus come a British colony, one of the first measure of government was to issue a proclamation und the great seal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongst other things, it is clared "that all persons inhabiting in, or reso ing to, the island of Grenada, might conside "the royal protection for the enjoyment of benefit of the laws of England, with the rig of appeal to the king in council, as fully as inhabitants of the other British Colonies "America under the king's immediate gove

" ment."—It also sets forth, " that the king,

express power and direction to the governor, as
foon as the state and circumstances of the colony would admit thereof, with the advice and
consent of the council, and the representatives
of the people, to make, constitute, and ordain
laws, statutes, and ordinances for the good government thereof, as near as may be agreeably
to the laws of England, and under such regula-

tions and restrictions as are used in the other British colonies."

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This proclamation was followed by another, ated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purcha-

fers upon certain terms and conditions.

The governor thus said to have been appointed, was general Melville, whose commission however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the assembly which he was directed to summon, met for the first time in 1765; previous to which, the British inhabitants were irresistibly called to the discussion of a great constitutional question; of which it is proper I should now give some account.

The question arose from the information, that the crown, conceiving itself entitled by the terms of the capitulation to the duty of 4½ per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid at Barbadoes, &c. had issued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764, ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 20th of September, then next ensuing, such duty or import in specie, should be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all customs and duties formerly paid to the French king.

We have feen, in the history of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that island became subject to the duty in question; and to what

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BOOK purposes the money was expressly stipulated to be applied; but, unjustifiable as were the means by which that imposition was originally established in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themselves, by their representatives in their legislative capacity. Even Charles the II. in whose reign the grant passed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an affembly of its own, competent to that purpose. The king was ready enough to overawe, or to corrupt the members which composed that assembly; but he left them the form and semblance at

least, of a free government.

In defence of the present measure, it was urged that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invested with the power of putting the inhabitants under what form of government he thought best; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he faw fit; and further, that the affurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they should enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his Majesty's subjects in the British Leeward Islands, necessarily implied that they were bound to fubmit to the fame consequences of their being subjects as were submitted to by the inhabitants of those islands; one of which was the payment of the duty in question. It was faid therefore that the demand of this duty was most reasonable, equitable and political; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the fame footing with all the British Leeward Islands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if less, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward Islands. On On the other fide, it was contended, that the CHAP, letters patent were void on two points, the first was "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercise such a legislative power over a conquered country."—The second point was, "that although the king had sufficient power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do such a legislative act, he had divested himself of such authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."

The crown however persisting in its claim, and the inhabitants in opposing it, issue was joined on the arguments that I have stated, and the question was at length referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the Court of

King's Bench in England \*. mi northunito

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The case was elaborately argued in Westminser-hall, four several times; and in Michaelmas
term 1774, Lord chief justice Mansfield promounced judgment, against the crown. The consequence was, that the duty in question was abolished, not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tohago.

It may be reasonably supposed that the inhabitants of all these islands had sufficient cause for exultation at a verdict so savourable to their interests; but the circumstances on which the decision was sounded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the subject of much animadversion; and indeed (if I may obtrude my own opinion in such a case) they appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency.

Vol. I. A a do noise The

<sup>\*</sup> The case is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

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III.

BOOK The noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the Court, refled the determination folely on the circumstance that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters patent; observing that the king had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, before the letters patent were iffued. "Through inattention, he faid, of the king's fervants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compais, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of discussion in support of the regal authority over conquered countries; maintaining " that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation; -if he refuses, and puts the inhabitants to the fword, or otherwise exterminates them, all the lands belong to himself. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix fuch terms and conditions as he thinks proper. He may (faid the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, on what terms he pleases, and change part, or the whole, of the law, or political form of its government, as he fees best." in reply to an observation, that no adjudged case, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared that this was not to be wondered at, " inafmuch as no question was ever started before, but that the king has a right to a legislative authority over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in respect of Jamaica. The affembly of that island being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke

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Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge to know "what CHAP could be done if the affembly should obstinately continue to withhold all the usual supplies."

They reported, that "if Jamaica was still to be considered as a conquered island, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be considered in the same light as the other colonies, no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants, but by an assembly of the island, or by an act of parliament."

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive throughout thefe, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias rifing from the unbappy diffentions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progress of which, it is believed, this noble perfon diftinguished himself as an active partizant and a powerful advocate for the unconditional supremacy of the mother country. I might otherwise be chargeable with great arrogance in prefuming to differ from fuch weight of authoriy; but furely it will be permitted me to examine the docume maintained on this occasion, by the telt of those cases, which the noble judge himself adduced in its support. In such an examination, plain argument and common fense may supply the fubtleties of legal refinement, and the want of profesional learning.

The cases chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were those of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York; in all which places it was afferted that the king, after their conquest, had, of his own authority, exercised the powers of legislature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws, and establishing a new system of government over the inhabitants. "No man (observed his lordship, in the case of Ireland,) ever said that the change in the laws of that coun-

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BOOK try was made by the parliament of England: no III. man ever faid the crown could not do it."

With the utmost deference however to the fentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I prefume to think that the question was not fimply, Whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England, had the right of exercifing the authority contended for i-I will even admit that the interpolition of parliament was unnecef-Still however the main question remains to be answered, which is, To what extent may the royal prerogative in fuch cases be exerted? Did the noble judge mean to affert that conquest destroys all the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to prefcribe to them, not merely the English constitution; -but any other fystem, he thinks best? If such was the opinion, it may be affirmed that the cases which his lordthip adduced in support of his argument, warrant no fuch conclusion. sldsayted ad alive

The first case was that of Ireland. "The fact, says the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland received the laws of England by the charters and commands of Henry II. King John and

Henry III." an dechar . moggit en ai be

Of Wales, the noble lord observes "that the statute of Wales (12 Edward L) is certainly no more than regulations made by the king in his council for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it as a conquest;" but let us hear on this subject the learned judge Blackstone. "This territory, observes Blackstone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of seodal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the statute of Rutland expresses it, terra Walliae cum incolis suis, prius regi jure seodali subjecta, (of which homage was the sign)

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giam in proprietatis dominium totaliter et cum infe-CHAP. gritate conversa est, et coronae regni Angliae tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita. But the sinishing stroke to their independency, was given by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26. which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England. Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put upon the same footing, and made fellow citizens with their conquerors."

Another case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble lord, "after the conquest of it,
was governed by charters from the crown, without the interpolition of parliament, till the reign
of James I." The noble judge would have
stated this case more fairly, had he said that
stdward I. at the request of the inhabitants, confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient
laws; but that "its constitution was put on an
singlish footing, by a charter of king James."

These are the very words of Blackstone.

The case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and, like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. "King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and political government; by granting it to the duke of York, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the letters patent."—So far is true; but what followed? This duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly he attempted at first to introduce into the newly acquired country, a fystem

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he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled, much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature; and these deputies actually vote that all the ordinances which had been mad by the governor and council, before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, because they were passed in a manner to pugnant to the constitution of England?"

From this recital, it is I think evident that the noble and learned judge mistook the gist of the question; or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, of extending this newly acquired subjects, the benefits of the English constitution, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases; or, by none at all.

It would feem then that, if the cases which have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has prescribed, nor could prescribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the British constitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether ac quired by conquest or settlement; and good au thorities are not wanting in support of this doc " The king of Great Britain (fays an excellent writer \*) although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right, hold other states under a form of government that is not free; at he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered

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flate (for the time being) under a form of go-CHAP. vernment that is not free; that is, under military law: but, in the instant that such conquered state is, by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded to the crown of Great Britain, in that instant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized; it is assimilated to the government, it is governable and to be governed by, and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords and commons is invested by the confitution; but it is not governable, neither is to be governed, by any powers which the governing power of king, lords and commons does not possess from the constitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of flavery; because the governing power of king, lords and commons is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to fay that a limited monarch, in a free state, may govern any part of the dominions of fuch a state in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of subjects so governed, would, if fufficiently numerous, be fit instruments to enflave the rest!

The intelligent reader will admit the vast importance of this question, both to the present age and to posterity; and perceive how greatly the dearest interests of men, who, in the contingencies of war, shall hereafter fall under the British dominion, may possibly be concerned in its discussion. To such readers no apology will be necessary for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a subject of such constitutional magnitude.——I now return to transactions with the colony.

It has been stated that the first assembly met in 1765. At that time none of the French Roman Catholic pressed a desire, of becoming members, either of the council or assembly: but in 1768 the governor received instructions from the crown, to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the assembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The governor was directed also to include the names of certain persons of this description, in the com-

mission of the peace.

These instructions, and the measures which were taken in consequence thereof, gave rise to violent commotions and party divisions in the colony, which, being embittered by religious controversy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the present hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a stranger to the island) to flatter the passions of one party or the other; and I should readily consign all the circumstances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an historian, to state without prejudice such particulars as may, in their consequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may serve as a lesson to the next.

The opposition that was given by the British inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman Catholic capitulants to seats in the legislature, arose, I believe, originally from an idea that the royal instructions in this case were in direct violation of the test act of Charles II. which requires "that all persons enjoying any place of trust or profit shall, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation in the facrament of the Lord's supper." By the king's instructions, above cited, his Roman Catholic subjects of Grenada were declared eligible without subscribing to this declaration.

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Liberal and enlightened minds at this day are CHAP. not easily reconciled to the doctrine that an adherence to mere speculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal subject from the fervice of his country, or deprive a man (otherwife entitled) of the enjoyment of those honours and distinctions, the distribution of which the wildom of the laws has affigued to the fovereign. Much less will it be thought that such a man is inworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are best acquaintd with his principles and virtues, and are themkives of a different persuasion, shall think fit to repose in him. At the same time, it must be achowledged that the recent and then depending dain in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by is own authority, gave the inhabitants just caufe of apprehension that the royal instructions in the present case were founded, in like manner, on a pretention to legislative authority, subvertive of their own colonial affembly.

On the other hand, it was alledged that the tell act was never meant to extend to the British plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and spirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and statute law of England, it was contended nevertheless, that the adoption fould extend only to fuch of the English stato the peculiar fituation of the colony. It was urged that the act n question originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatic violence. The authority of history was adduced to prove that it was particuarly promoted by a worthless individual, from mimofity to the Duke of York, who was obliged, n consequence of it, to resign the great office of

Lord

BOOK Lord High Admiral. A law thus founded and further fupported, instead of being considered as suited to the circumstances of a new and infant colony ought, it was said, to be expunged from the

English statute book. bato , minutes and local

What influence these, or other considerations had on the British Ministry, I presume not to say. It is certain that the king resused to revoke his instructions; in consequence whereon the most zealous of the protestant members of the assembly declining to attend, it was self dom that a house could be formed. Public affairs soon fell into the utmost confusion, and in this state of faction and perplexity, the island continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

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On this occasion, charges were brought again the French inhabitants which I will not repeat because I have no other evidence to support them than the mutual reproaches, and reciproca accusations of the parties. The complaints in deed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an usurpation of their dearest right by the prevailing faction, seemed to imply that they relied rather on justification than denial.

The French ministry however required nother encouragement for attacking this island than the defenceless state in which all the British settlements in the West Indies were at the juncture notoriously lest. The hopeless and destructive war in North America had drawn to it wortex all the powers, resources, and exertion of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a facrifice to that unform nate contest; when it fell to the lot of Grenad to experience her share of the general missor tune.

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On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, CHAR confisting of a fleet of 25 ships of the line, 10 II. frigates, and 5000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George: the whole force of the island was composed of go men of the 48th regiment, 300 militis of the illand, and 150 feamen from the merchant ships; and its fortifications confifted chiefly of an entrenchment which had been haftily thrown up, round the fuminit of the Hospital hill. This entrenchment the Count D'Estaing invested the next day, at the head of 3,000 of his best forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loss of 300 men carried the lines. Never did fo fmall a body of men make a nobler defence against such inequality of numbers. The governor (Lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garrison, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hospital-hill battery, the guns of which having been most unfortunately left unspiked, were now turned against them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders against the walls of the old fort. In this fituation, the governor and inhabitants had no refource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were disappointed. Their proposals were scornfully rejected, and fuch hard and extraordinary terms offered and infifted on by Count d'Estaing, as left them no alternative but the facrifice of their honour, or an unconditional furrender. They embraced the latter; and it must be acknowledged that the protection which was offered to the helpless inhabitants of the town, and their property,

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BOOK not only while the treaty was depending, but also III. after the surrender of the island at discretion, reflected the highest lustre on the discipline, as well as humanity of the conquerors. Protection and safe-guards were granted on every application, and thus a town was faved from plunder, which by the strict rules of war, might have been given up to an exasperated soldiery.

It is to be lamented that the subsequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new subjects, was not quite so generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confifetion of property, from the payment, directly or indirectly, of all debts due by them to British fubjects, refiding in any part of the British dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to fuch debts owing to the subjects of the united provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the subjects of Great Britain. The Count D'Estaing had inserted clauses to the same effect, in the form of capitulation which he had tendered to the garrison, and it was those prohibitions that induced the British inhabitants, with an honest indignation, to rifque the confequence of an unconditional furrender, rather than fubmit to them. With the virtue and integrity that it is to be hoped will for ever distinguish the British character, they confidered no facrifice fo great as the violation of that confidence, which had been reposed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went still further. By the regulations which they contained, it was enacted that all the estates belonging to English abientees, should be put into the hands of certain persons to be nominated by the governor, called

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Into the public treasury. Thus was plunder II.

Inclined by authority; and the absent propri
mors were not the only victims. The shameful

acility with which every French claimant was

not into possession of estates, to which the

sphess pretension was set up, gave the refi
ent planters reason to apprehend, that the only

adulgence they were to expect, was that which

oliphenius promised Ulysses, of being devoured

to last.

Most of these injurious proceedings, and vaous acts of personal oppression, inflicted on e conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, them, imputed to the too great influence th the governor of their late fellow subjects d neighbours, the French planters; and it is uch easier to account for, than to justify their nduct. Bet it be remembered however, to the mour of the French nation, that thefe nefams proceedings were no fooner made known the court of France, than they were disapoved and reprobated. The appointment of aservators was abolished, and restoration orred to be made of the estates of absent promors. Redress was likewise very generally en, by appeals in the last refort, to such of resident planters as had been illegally dewed of their possessions. But it was not long, ore the island itself reverted to the British an east and well cutchion, between noinin

Grenada and the Grenadines were restored Great Britain, with all the other captured it ds in the West Indies (Tobago excepted) by general pacification which took place in Jary 1783; a pacification upon which, what I may be its general merits, it is impossible that the English sugar planters (except per-

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BOOK haps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful fatisfaction, It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the presen repose and future prosperity of mankind the fome falutary regulations had been framed the same time, for preventing the revival of the unhappy national animofities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which I have so large ly fpoken, and which, I am forry to be inform ed, were renewed on the restoration of the i land with additional force and aggravated vid lence. It is not my intention however to ente into any further detail on the subject. As a frien to the interests of humanity, independent of n ligious opinions, and locality of birth, I ha rejoice if means can be found to restore to the little community that peace, confidence and un nimity, without which its, inhabitants must b a ruined people, and a prey to the first inv der. nour of the French natio

Having thus, as I conceive, fufficiently treate of the historical and political concerns of the valuable colony, I shall conclude with a sho display of its present state, in respect of soi population, productions and exports, premifin that many of those little islands which are calle the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the g vernment of Grenada. By an arrangement the British administration, which has taken e fect fince the peace, a line of division passes an east and west direction, between Cariaco and Union island. The former of these, an fome smaller islands fouth of it, are all that a now comprised in the Grenada government unfor Union Island, with all the little islands adjoin the ling, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

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Grenada contains about 80,000 acres of land; CRAP. of which although no lefs than 72,141 acres mid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be fup. pled fit for cultivation, yet the quantity acmally cultivated has never exceeded 50,000 eres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inacceffible in any part, and it abounds with springs and rivulets. To the north and the east, the foil is a brick mould; the fame, or nearly the fame, as that of which mention his been made in the history of Jamaica. On he west fide, it is a rich black mould on a subfatum of yellow day. To the fouth, the land a general is poor, and of a reddish hue, and he fame extends over a confiderable part of he interior country. On the whole however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, nd by the variety, as well as excellence, of its durns, feems adapted to every tropical producion. The exports of the year 1776, from Greand its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. f muscavado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of elayed fuar; 818,700 gallons of rum; 1,827,166 lbs. of offee, 457,719 lbs. of cacao, 91,943 lbs. of cotm, 27,638 lbs. of indigo, and some smaller aricles; the whole of which, on a moderate commation, could not be worth less, at the ports f shipping, than £. 600,000 sterling, excluding reight, duties, infurance and other charges. It elerves to be remembered too, that the fugar hat they were worked by 18,293 negroes, which hat at they were worked by 18,293 negroes, which hat at therefore rather more than one hoghead of ment sufcavado fugar, of 16 cwt. from the labour of adjoin ach negro, old and young, employed in the over altivation of that commodity; a prodigious resulting, equalled, I believe, by no other British if the senat and in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted. as the produce of 106 plantations only, and

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BOOK cepted.—The exports of 1787 will be given III. hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly thort of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not

wholly how to account.

This island is divided into fix parishes, St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Patrick St. Mark, and St. John; and its chief dependency, Cariacou, forms a feventh parish. It is only fince the restoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an island law has been obtained for the establishment of a protestant clergy. This act passed in 1784, and provides stipends of £. 330 currency, and £.60 for house rent per annum, for five clergymen viz. one for the town and parish of St. George three for the other five out parishes of Grenada and one for Cariacou. Befides these stipends, then are valuable glebe lands, which had been ap propriated to the support of the Roman catho lic clergy, whilst that was the established re ligion of Grenada. These lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and folicitor gene ral of England (to whom a question on this point was referred by the crown) became vefted in his Majesty as public lands, on the restoration of the island to the British government, and I be lieve have fince been applied by the colonial le giflature, with the confent of the crown, to the further support of the protestant church, with fome allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romish clergy of the remaining French inhabit

The capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, foon after the cession of the country to Great Britain by the peace of Paris is called St. George. By this ordinance, English

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lish names were given to the several towns and CHAP. parishes, and their French names forbidden to II. be thereafter used in any public acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royale. It is situated in a spacious bay, on the west or lee side of the island, not far from the south end, and possesses one of the safest and most commodious harbours for shipping in the English West Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great expence.

The other towns in Grenada, are, properly speaking, inconsiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally situated at the bays or shipping places in the several out parishes. The parish town of Cariacou is called Hillsborough.

Grenada has two ports of entry, with separate establishments, and distinct revenue officers, independent of each other, viz. one at St. George, the capital, and one at Grenville bay, a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. is made a free port.

Whether it be owing to the events of war, to domestic diffentions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreafed confiderably fince these islands first came into possession of the English. The number of white inhabitants, in the year 1771, were known to be somewhat more than 1600; in 1777 they had decreased to thirteen hundred; and at this time they are supposed not to exceed one thousand, of which about two thirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes, attached to There are likewife about 500 regular Bb Vol. I.

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BOOK troops from Great Britain, which are supported

III. on the British establishment\*.

The negro flaves have also decreased. By the last returns preceding the capture of the island in 1779, they were stated at 35,000, of which 5000 were in Cariacou, and the smaller islands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decrease was owing partly to the want of any regular supply during the French government, and partly to the numbers carried from the island by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is also to be observed, that of the African cargoes sold at Grenada, some part (perhaps a fourth or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies.

The free people of colour amounted in 1787, to 1,115. To prevent the too great increase of this mixed race, every manumission is, by an act of this island, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the public treafury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is ufually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumission in some other island or government where there is no fuch law. The evidence of all free coloured people, whether born free or manumitted, is received in the courts of this island, on their producing fufficient proof of their freedom; and fuch free people are tried on criminal charges in the fame manner as whites, without distinction

<sup>\*</sup> Besides the regular troops which are sent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garrifon three companies of king's negroes, which came from America, where they served in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

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netiny distinction of colour. They are also allowed to CHAP. possess and enjoy lands and tenements to any II. amount, provided they are native born subjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

The governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice admiral, and prefides folely in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His falary is £. 3,200 currency per annum\*, which is raifed by a poll tax on all flaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to pass a salary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all cases of absence beyond twelve months, the salary ceases and determines.

The council of Grenada confifts of twelve members, and the affembly of twenty-fix. The powers, privileges and functions of both thefe branches of the legislature, are the same, and exercifed precifely in the same manner, as those of the council and affembly in Jamaica. A freehold, or life estate, of fifty acres, is a qualification to fit as representative for the parishes, and a freehold, or life estate, in fifty pounds house rent in St. George, qualifies a representative for the town. An estate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds in any of the out towns, gives avote for the representatives of each parish refpectively; and a rent of twenty pounds per annum issuing out of any freehold or life estate in the town of St. George, gives a vote for a representative for the town.

The law courts in Grenada, befides those of chancery and ordinary, are, first, the court of grand sessions of the peace, held twice a year, viz. in March and September. In this court the

<sup>\*</sup> The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 per cent. worse than sterling.

BOOK first person named in the commission of the peace III. presides, who is usually the president or senior in council.

2dly, The court of common pleas. This court confifts of one chief and four affiftant justices, whose commissions are during pleasure. The chief justice is usually appointed in England, a professional man, and receives a salary of £.600 per annum. The four assistant justices are usually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the island, and act without salary.

3dly, The court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commissioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is

lately grown into difuse.

4thly, The court of admiralty, for trial of all prize causes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue seizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one surrogate.

Lastly, The governor and council compose a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

Although there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it has been always the practice of the courts, to confider both the common and statute law of England to extend to Grenada in all applicable cases, not otherwise provided for by particular laws of the island. So in like manner the practice of the courts in Westminster Hall, and authentic reports of adjudged cases there, are resorted to, when precedents and authorities are wanting in the island. In the case of its state laws, it may be said with truth and justice, that the assembly of this island have shewn a liberality of sentiment which reslects the highest honour on their characters, both as legislators and christians.

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I have now furnished the reader with all the in CHAP. formation I have collected concerning the patt history and present state of the island of Grenada, and if it shall be thought deficient or uninstructive, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however remains to be observed concerning such of the Grenadines as are dependent on the Grenada government, the chief of which are Cariacou and Isle Ronde. The former contains 6913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well cultivated; producing in feafonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation, befides corn, yams, potatoes and plantains fufficient for the maintenance of its negroes. The cultivation of fugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations. Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is fituated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I close my account of this colony, as of Barbadoes, with an authentic return by the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the actual value of the several articles of the British market: BOOK III.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Grenada, &c. to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Whither bound.	Shipping	No.	Sugar.	K of	Melaffes.	Coffee.	Cacao.	Cotton.	Fo.	Mifcellancous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.	according to the current Prices in London.
To Great Britain Ireland — American States Br. Amer. Cols. Foreign W. Indies	No. Tons. 65 13,276 7 771 47 6,373 30 2,610	Men. 59 1 59 1 194 1 192	Cwt. qrs. lbs. 172,880 - 9 1,848 - 9 2,90 - 1,730	Gallons. 102,590 86,100 472,080 209,620	Gallons.	S, 550 2 4	Cwt. qrs. lb. 2,645 1 2 19 2 16 36 -	lbs. lbs.	11.1256 12.50	24.639 - 3.4.64.39 - 3.4.7.6 - 3.7.4 - 3.9.	555.22 11 13.580 4 24.597 4 21.469 9
Total	188 25,76	41824	175,548 - 9	670,390	4,300	2,716 3 18	8 8,812 2 4	2,062,427	2810	54,545 - 3	6 806,919

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# DOMINICA.

all double constitutions and an income I HE civil history of these Islands may be comprised within a narrow compass; for the fovereignty of them having been long an object of dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful possessions, the Charaibes, derived that security from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their justice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other Islands, in the Earl of Carlifle's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the English dominion. These attempts the French constantly opposed, with defign, it was urged, fecretly and furreptitiously to occupy the Islands themselves; and their conduct towards the Charaibes on other occasions feems to justify the suggestion. But.

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BOOK But, whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themselves with such effect, that the English were compelled to relinquish all hopes of obtaining these Islands by force;—for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748) St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (such as remained of them) were at length left in unmolest.

ed possession.

The disputes and hostilities which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and resistance of the French on the other, gave rise to, in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance. The injustice and depravity of mankind are at all times subjects of unpleasing speculation; but the subsequent conduct of both nations, respecting the Islands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked, even if historical precision did not, as in the present case it does, require me to relate the circumstances attending it.

The treaty of neutrality was no sooner concluded, than both English and French appeared distaissified with the arrangement which they had made. The latter seem not to have considered until it was too late, that by restricting the English from the occupancy of those countries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themselves at the same time. The English, on the other hand, discovered that by acceding to the compromise, they had given up St. Lucia, an Island worth all the rest, and to which it must be owned we had some colourable pretensions, sounded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibbean inhabitants in 1664, six hundred of whom attended an armament that was sent this ther

ther by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the CHAP. English publicly and formally into possession.

Both nations being thus alike diffatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be supposed that on the conclusion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different stipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded scruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the English in dividing the spoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, signed the 10th of February, 1763, the three Islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were assigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in sull and perpetual sovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed.

They were in truth reduced to a miserable remnant.—Of the ancient, or, as they were called by the English, Yellow Charaibes, not more than a hundred samilies survived in 1763, and of all their ancient extensive possessions, these poor people retained only a mountainous district in the Mand of St. Vincent. Of this Island and its dependencies I shall now treat, reserving Dominica

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### SECTION L

### ST. VINCENT, &c.

" THE Spaniards (fays Doctor Campbell) be-" stowed the name of St. Vincent upon this if-" land, because they discovered it upon the 22d " of January, which in their calendar is St. Vin-"cent's day, but it does not appear that they " were ever, properly speaking, in possession of " it; the Indians being very numerous here, on " account of its being the rendezvous of their " expeditions to the continent." Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural strength of the country, exempted them from hostility. What avarice had in vain attempted, accident accomplished, by procuring an establishment among them for a race of people, whom, though at first beheld by the native Charaibes with contempt or pity, they have fince found formidable rivals and merciles conquerors. These people have been long distinguished, however improperly, by the name of the Black Charaibes.

Of the origin of these intruders, and their ancient connection with the native Charaibes, the best account that I have been able to find is in a fmall treatife of the author above quoted, (Doctor Campbell) entitled " Candid and impartial confiderations

derations on the nature of the Sugar-trade," CHAP. which being equally authentic and curious, I hall present to my readers entire; and with the less scruple, because it consists chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without

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" In 1672, King Charles thought fit to divide thele governments, and by a new commission appointed Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed Governor of the other Leeward Isles, and this separation has subsisted ever since, the same islands being confantly inferted in every new Governor's patent. On the demise of Lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and the rest of these islands, and so continud till 1680, when he was succeeded by Sir Richand Dutton, who being fent for to England in 1685, appointed Colonel Edwin Stede Lieuteant Governor, who vigorously afferted our rights by appointing Deputy Governors for the other Mands; and particularly fent Captain Temple hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permission, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former Governors; perfifting steadily in this conduct, till it was fignified to him, as we have had ecasion to remark before, that the King had figned an act of neutrality, and that commissioners were appointed by the two courts, to fettle all differences relative to these Islands."

"Some years after, a ship from Guinea, with a large cargo of slaves, was either wrecked or run on shore upon the island of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes escaped. Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the Indians

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BOOK fuffered them to remain, and partly by the accel fion of runaway flaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, the became very numerous; fo that about the begin ning of the current century they constrained the Indians to retire into the north-west part of the island. These people, as may be reasonably supposed, were much diffatisfied with this treatment and complained of it occasionally both to the English and to the French, that came to wood and water amongst them. The latter at length fuffered themselves to be prevailed upon to attack these invaders, in the cause of their old allies and from a perfuafion that they should find more difficulty in dealing with these negroes, in case they were fuffered to strengthen themselves, that with the Indians. After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a confiderable force from Martinico, and landing without much opposition, began to burn the negro huts and de stroy their plantations, supposing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to fubmit and become flaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the Negroes fallying in the night, and retreating to inaccessible places in the day, destroyed so many of the French (amongst whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique who commanded them,) that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourse to fair means, and by dint of persuasions and presents, patched up a peace with the Negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage."

" Things were in this fituation when Captain Uring came with a confiderable armament to take poffession ccelly by

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noffession of St. Lucia and this island, in virtue CHAP. of a grant from our late fovereign King George I. the late Duke of Montague. When the French had dislodged this gentleman, by a superior force from St. Lucia, he fent Captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at the Island of St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more fuccessful, as will best appear from that gentleman's report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains feveral curious dreumstances relative to the country, and to the wo independent nations who then inhabited it, klongs properly to this fubject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring's nemoirs that this transaction happened in the firing of the year 1723."

#### "THE REPORT."

"In pursuance of a resolution in council, and your order for fo doing, the day you failed with his Grace's colony for Antego, I failed with the Griffin floop, in company with his Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. We made the Island that night, and next morning run along shore, and saw several Indian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening, two Indians came on board, and told us, we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the loop. One, whom they call General, came on board, with feveral others, to the number of twenty-two. I entertained them very hand-" fomely,

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BOOK" fomely, and made the chief fome triffing pre-" fents, but found he was a person of no confe-" quence, and that they called him Chief to get " fome present from me. Here two of the Indi-" ans were fo drunk, they would not go afhore, " but staid on board some days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great " currents drove us off for feveral days; but at " last, we came to an anchor in a spacious bay, " to leeward of all the Island, the draught of " which I ordered to be 'taken by our furveyor, " for your better understanding the place, being " the only one where a fettlement could be made. " The fhip and floop were fcarce come to anchor, " before the strand of the shore was covered with " Indians, and among them we could discover a " white, who proved to be Frenchman. I took " Captain Watson in the boat with me, with a " Frenchman, and immediately went ashore. As " foon as I came amongst them, I asked them, " why they appeared all armed? For every man " had cutlasses, some had musquets, pistols, " bows and arrows, &c. They with very little " ceremony inclosed me, and carried me up the " country about a mile, over a little rivulet, " where I was told I was to fee their general. I " found him fitting amidst a guard of about a " hundred Indians, those nearest his person had " musquets, the rest bows and arrows, and great " filence. He ordered me a feat, and a French-" man stood at his right hand, for an interpreter: " he demanded of me, what brought me into his " country, and of what nation? I told him Eng-" lish, and I was put in to wood and water, as " not caring to fay any thing elfe before the " Frenchman; but told him if he would be pleaf-" ed to come on board our ships, I would leave

" Englishmen in hostage for him and those he

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"hould be pleased to bring with him; but I CHAP.
"could not prevail with him either to come on board, or suffer me to have wood and water.
"He said he was informed we were come to force a settlement, and we had no other way to remove that jealousy but to get under sail. As soon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon them, I took my leave, after making such replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard.
"When I came to the shore I found the guard there were increased by a number of Negroes, all armed with suffers. I got in my boat, with out any injury, and went on board to Captain

"Orme, and told him my ill success.

"Immediately after, I sent on shore the ship's boat with a mate, with rum, beef and bread, &c. with some cutlasses, and ordered a French-man who went with the mate, to desire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common good of water and a little useless wood, nevertheless I had sent him such refreshments as our ships afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general seemed pleased, and received what was sent him, and in return sent me bows and arrows.

"Our people had not been long returned before their general fent a canoe, with two chief
Indians, who spoke very good French, to thank
me for my presents, and to ask pardon for his
refusing me wood and water, and assured me
Imight have what I pleased; and they had orders
to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore again, they
were to remain hostages for my civil treatment.
I sent them on board the man of war, and with
Capt. Watson went on shore. I was well received, and conducted as before. But now I found

" the

BOOK " the brother of the chief of the Negroes was " arrived, with five hundred Negroes, mod arm-" ed with fuzees. They told my interpreter " they were affured we were come to force a fet-" tlement, or elfe they would not have denied " me what they never before denied any English, " viz. wood and water: But, if I pleased, I might " take in what I wanted under a guard. Find-" ing them in fo good a humour, I once more in-" troduced the defire I had to entertain them on " board our ships, and with some difficulty pre-" vailed with them, by leaving Captain Watfon " on shore under their guard as a hostage. I " carried them on board the King's ship, where " they were well entertained by Captain Orme, " who gave the Indian General a fine fuzee of " his own, and to the Chief of the Negroes " fomething that pleafed him. Captain Orme " affured him of the friendship of the King of " England, &c. The Negro Chief spoke excel-" lent French, and gave answers with the French " compliments. Afterwards I carried them on " board the Duke's floop, and after opening " their hearts with wine, for they fcorned to " drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them " my commission, and what brought me on their " coast. They told me it was well I had not " mentioned it ashore, for their power could not " have protected me; that it was impossible; the " Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad " to retire. They likewise told me two French " floops had, the day before we came, been " amongst them, gave them arms and ammu-" nition, and affured them of the whole force " of Martinico for their protection against us. " They told them also, that they had drove us " from St. Lucia, and that now we were come to " endeavour to force a fettlement there; and, " notwithstanding

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notwithstanding all our precious pretences, CHAP. when we had power, we should enslave them; "but declared they would trust no Europeans; " that they owned themselves under the protec-" tion of the French, but would as foon oppose " their fettling amongst them, or any act of force "from them, as us, as they had lately given an "example, by killing feveral; and they further told me, it was by very large prefents the "French ever got in their favour again; but "they refolved never to put it in the power of any European to hurt them. They advised " me to think what they faid was an act of friend-" ship. This being all I could get from them, "I difmiffed them with fuch presents as his "Grace ordered for that fervice, with a discharge of cannon, and received in return as regular "vollies of small that as I ever heard. In the "night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors," "which as foon as I perceived, and had receiv-"ed Captain Watfon from the shore, I got under " fail, and flood to the man of war."

Such is the history of a very weak and fruitless attempt which was made, under the authority of the British Government, to obtain possesion of this Island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years fucceeds, in which I find no occurrence in its hiftory that deferves recital. The country became a theatre of lavage hostilities between the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved fo in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at two thousand; whereas of the yellow or native Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already been observed) more than one hundred families, and most of thele, if I am rightly informed, are by this time exterminated. It is however worthy VOL. I.

BOOK of remark, that the African intruders have adopt-III. ed most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and perhaps it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the ap-

pellation of the black Charaibes.

The first measure of the English government in respect to this Island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands—I dare not say to the best advantage; for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-sourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously assigned over to two individuals \*. The remainder was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the public, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction for the sum of £.162,854. 11s. 7d. Sterling †. As nearly one half the country was judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, these grants and sales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the Island to the other. The

\* Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and Gene-

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ral Monckton four thousand.

The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below. which no land could be fold, which was f. 5 fterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood, and the principal conditions of fale were these, " that every purchaser should pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, together with fix pence fterling per acre, for the expence of surveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase money should be secured by bonds; to be paid by equal instalments in the space of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaser should keep on the lands fo by him purchased, one white man, or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchase money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown." Some of the lands fold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds Rerling per acre.

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commissioners indeed were directed not to survey CHAP. or dispose of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they should receive further instructions from the crown; but as it was impossible to ascertain how far the claims of these people extended, the survey alone was possponed, and the sales were suffered to proceed; to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the several purchasers, that the British Government would ratify the acts of its commissioners, and put them into possession of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes of either race; which in truth were considered as of no consequence or validity.

By what arts of perfuafion the British government was induced to give its fanction and fupport to the measures which followed, it is now useless to enquire; but posterity will learn with indignation, that the fales and allotments I have mentioned, gave rife to a war with the Charaibes, in the course of which, it became the avowed intention of government to exterminate those miserable people altogether, or, by conveying them to a barren island on the coast of Africa, confign them over to lingering destruction. By repeated protests and representations from the military officers employed in this difgraceful bufiness, and the dread of parliamentary enquiry, administration at length thought proper to defift, and the Charaibes, after furrendering part of their lands, were permitted to enjoy the remainder unmolested, and they possess them, I believe, to this hour.

On the 19th of June 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the resources

Cc 2

BOOK of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, confifting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a Lieutenant in the French navy. The Black Charaibes how. ever, as might have been expected, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt that the terror which seized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the Island surrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the Island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time fixty-one fugar estates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, befides land appropriated to the raifing provisions, fuch as plantains, yams, maize, &c. All the rest of the country, excepting the few foots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes retained its native woods, and most of it, I believe, continues in the same state to the present hour.

St. Vincent's contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate vallies, however, are fertile in a high degree, the foil confifting chiefly of a fine mold, composed of sand and clay, well adapted for sugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to be held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement.

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The Island, or rather the British territory with-CHAP. in it, is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780: whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingston, the capital of the Island, and the seat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconsiderable hamlets, consisting each of a few houses only.

In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent seems to differ in no respect from Grenada.—The council consist of twelve members, the assembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary is two thousand pounds sterling, one half of which is raised within the Island, the other half is paid him out

of the Exchequer of Great Britain.

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The military force confifts at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country—but provided for, with the former, on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the Island. The militia confists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to Government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty Whites, and eleven thousand

eight hundred and fifty-three Negroes.

Of the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports from this Island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other Islands, is subjoined. In this table, however, I conceive is comprehended the produce of the several Islands dependent on the St. Vincent Government, viz. Bequia, con-

BOOK taining 3,700 acres; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and Mustique, containing about 1,200 acres\*; the Negroes employed in the cultivation of these Is lands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe, included in the 11,853 before mentioned,

\* There are likewise the little islots of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Balleseau, each of which produces a little cotton.

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CHAP.

An A.C.C.O.U.N.T. of the Number of Vessels, their Tomage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Island of ST. VINCENT, &c. to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great

bound.	20	Shipping.	22/15 (2)	3	Sugar.	Cut Sugar. Rum.	Melaffes	Melaffes. Coffee.	Cotten.	Cacao.	Mifcellanceus Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.	Articles, as Hodes, Dying the current Prices in London.
W 14	No	Tons.	Men	Cwt	qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	No. Tons. Men Cwt. qrs. lbs. Gallons. Gallons. Cwt. qrs. lbs	lbs.	lbs. Cwt. qrs. lbs	Value.	3
ain tates Indies	2 2 2	6,086 2,587 3,963	463 174 132	64,4	449 1 27	15,766 51,300	959.6	30 6,086 463 64,449 1 27 15,766 9,656 632 1 5 21 2,587 174 579 - 51,300 - 2 - 7 71 3,963 332	5 760,380 99 2 1,500 43 2	ei 1	4 2,570 7 6 5 3 6 5 3 6	6. 1. 6. 9,019 1 8 9,019 1 8 1,860 3 6
Tes.	1221	12,636	090	65,12	18 1 27	88,266	9,656	122 12,676 969 65,128 1 27 88,266 9,656 634 1 5 761,880 143 - 24 2,501 11	761,880	143 - 24	2,591 11 -	186.400 14 8

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### DOMINICA.

THE Island of Dominica was so named by Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday. My account of it will be very brief, for its civil history, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conquest it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the British crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February 1763.

Notwithstanding that Dominica had, until that time, been considered as a neutral island, many of the subjects of France had established coffee plantations, and other settlements, in various parts of the country; and it reslects honour on the British administration, that these people were secured in their possessions, on condition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty and paying a small quit-rent †. The rest

\* November 3d, 1493.

<sup>†</sup> The crown granted them leases, some for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in every lease, "that the possessor his heirs or affigns, should pay to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, the sum of two shillings sterling per annum, for every acre of land, of which the lease should confist." And surther, "that they should not fell or dispose of their lands, without

of the cultivable lands were ordered to be fold CHAP.
on the fame conditions as those of St. Vincent,
by commissioners nominated for that purpose,
and no less than 96,344 acres (comprehending
one half of the island) were accordingly disposed
of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one
hundred acres, yielding the sum of £.312,092.

115. 1d. sterling money \*.

It does not however appear that the purchases thus made by British subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhabitants of Dominica are still more numerous than the English, and possess the most valuable cossee plantations in the Island, the produce of which has hitherto been found its most important staple. They differ but little, in manners, customs, and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French Islands in the West Indies, and their priess have been hitherto appointed by superiors in Martinico; to the government of which Island, and to the laws of their own nation, they consider themselves to be amenable.

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Iam forry historical justice obliges me to observe, that the liberal conduct of the British government towards these people, after they became adopted subjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general interests of mankind, ought to be religiously manifested on such occasions.

At the commencement of the hopeless and destructive war between Great Britain and her Colonies

without the consent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that Island, for the time being." This indulgence however did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French subject.

No person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name or in the name of others in trust for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

BOOK Colonies in North America, the island of Do.

III. minica was in a flourishing fituation. The port

of Roseau having been declared a free-port by
act of parliament, was resorted to by trading vel.
fels from most parts of the foreign West Indies,
as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchased great numbers of Negroes there
for the supply of their settlements, together with
wast quantities of the merchandize and manusactures of Great Britain; payment for all which
was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton,
and completed in mules and cattle; articles of
prime necessity to the planter\*.

Thus the island, though in itself certainly not fo fertile as some others of less extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of considerable importance; but unfortunately it wanted that protection, which alone could give its possessions stability and value.

To those who recollect the frantic rage, with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in the fubjugation of America, the utter difregard which was manifested by the then administration towards the fecurity of this and the other British islands in the West Indies, may not perhaps be matter of furprise; but it will hereafter be scarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, confifted of lix officers and ninety-four privates! This shameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this island, from its local fituation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the possessions of Great-

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<sup>\*</sup> Roseau is still a free-port, but the restrictions and regulations of the late act are so rigid, that foreigners have no encouragement to resort to it, and, since some late seizures, consider the law as a snare to invite them to roin.

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Great-Britain in that part of the world, for fecuring CHAP. to her the dominion of the Charaibbean fea. A III. few ships of war stationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, would effectually stop all intercourse of the French settlements with each other, as not a vessel can pass, but is liable to capture by ships cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the island. This indeed was discovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumstances which I have recounted, namely, the
growing prosperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the British Ministry towards
its security, had already attracted the vigilant rapaciousness of the French government; but it is
afferted, that many of the inhabitants within
the colony, who had formerly been subjects of
France, scrupled not, on the first intimation of
hostilities having been commenced in Europe,
in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proofs of this may not perhaps easily
be made, but it is certain that their subsequent
conduct gave too much cause for such a suspicion.

On Monday, the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, confisting of a forty-gun ship, three frigates, and about thirty sail of armed sloops and schooners, having on board upwards of two thousand regular troops, and a law-less banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the island, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, and general of the French Windward West-Indian Islands. Part of the troops having soon afterwards landed without opposition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Cashacrou, the chief desence of the island, and in which a detachment of the regulars was stationed. This fort

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BOOK fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, furrounded on three fides by the fea, and was confidered for very defensible, that it was supposed a few hun. dred men, well provided, would maintain it against as many thousands. Great therefore was the astonishment of the English in the town of Rofeau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had furrendered without refistance; but, strange as it may seem, the case appeared afterwards to be, that some of the French inhabitants had infinuated themselves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few foldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to fpike up the cannon.

Having thus made themselves masters of Fort Cashacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by Fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately these batteries were ill provided, and worse manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed one hundred; for but sew of the French inhabitants thought proper to assemble, and of those that made their appearance, many withdrew themselves again, and were no more seen until after the island had surrendered.

The small force however that was collected, behaved with that spirit and gallantry, which give room to lament that they were not better supported. Three times was the enemy driven out of Fort Loubiere, of which they had possessed themselves in their march, and twice were the colours which they had hoisted thereon shot away. Their commissary general, and upwards of forty of their soldiers, were killed, and de

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Bouillé himself had a very narrow escape; his CHAP. sword being shot away from his side.

But gallantry was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; for about two thousand of the French having shortly after gained possession of the heights above Rofeau, this last circumfance determined the fate of the island. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them very honourable terms of capitulation. Befides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain their civil government, and the free exercise of their religion, laws, customs, and ordinances: to preferve the administration of justice in the fame persons, in whom it was then vested \*, and to enjoy their possessions, of what nature soever, mmolested; a privilege also which was expressly extended to absent as well as resident proprie-

De Bouillé having thus completed his conquest, departed for Martinico, leaving the Marquis Duchilleau commander in chief of Dominica, whose conduct, during four years that he continued in the island, is said to have been so wantonly oppressive and tyrannical, that we are lest to wonder at the patient long-suffering and sorbearance of the people under his government, in submitting to it for half the time.

His first measure was to disarm the English inhabitants, and distribute their arms among the runaway negroes, with whom he actually entered into an engagement for their affishance, if wanted. He issued a proclamation, forbidding the English to assemble together more than two in a place, under the penalty of military execution,

<sup>\*</sup> It was stipulated that the members of the council should constitute a court of chancery, the powers of which were vested solely in the governor before the surrender.

BOOK and he commanded the centinels to shoot them III. if they passed in greater numbers. He ordered that no lights should be seen in their houses after nine o'clock at night, and that no English person should presume to walk the streets after that hour, without a candle and lanthorn. Mr. Robert How, an English merchant, and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot dead in the attempt, and the centinel who killed him was raised to a higher station in his regiment for having thus (as the governor expressed it) done his duty.

So very apprehensive was this governor that the English inhabitants were forming designs to retake the island, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inspection before it was delivered. And, deeming this measure insufficient to sumish him with the knowledge of their private transactions, he adopted the practice of going himself in disguise, or employing others who better knew the English language, in order to listen at their doors and windows in the night-time, to the conversation which passed in domestic intercourse.

He repeatedly threatened to set fire to the town of Roseau, in case the Island should be attacked, and, though this was never attempted by the English forces, yet that town was set fire to by the French soldiers, who, there is every reason to suppose, did it by the governor's private orders. This supposition was strongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy event, at which he himself was present the best part of the time, like another Nero seemingly diverted with the scene, and would not allow his soldiers to assist in extinguishing the slames (save only in houses that belonged to the French inhabitants) but permitted them to pillage the sufferers.

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This fire happened the evening of Easter Sun. CHAP-day, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred III. houses were consumed in a few hours; and a valid quantity of rich merchandize and effects destroyed, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds

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While the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestic despotism, they had no resources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, insomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the island of Dominica was in possession of the French, it was resorted to by no vessels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that kingdom; but part of it was sent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney; and from thence it was exported to England, under the most extravagant expences and loss to the proprietors.

Other parts of their produce were fent in Dutch wessels, which were engaged for the purpose in England, to Rotterdam; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was sent under imperial colours to Ostend, where the sugar sold from six to eight

pounds sterling the hogshead.

These accumulated distresses ended in the abfolute ruin of many of the planters, and we are
assured, on good authority, that no less than
thirty sugar plantations were, in consequence
thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length however the day of deliverance arrived; for, in the month of January
1783, Dominica was restored to the government
of England. The joy which, on this event, animated the bosom and enlightened the countenance
of every man, whom painful experience, under
an arbitrary government, had taught to set a right
value.

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BOOK value on the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described. The inhabitants were now restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil establishment, similar to those of the other British colonies in the West Indies, which being hereaster to be described at length, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place, except to observe, that the legislative authority of this island is vested in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gentlemen, and an assembly of nineteen members. The few observations therefore which follow, concerning its present state and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is situated in the parish of St. George, being about seven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S. W. side of the island, which forms two bays, viz. Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotte-ville bay to the

fouthward.

Roleau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotte-ville to Roleau river, and, mostly two furlongs in breadth, but less in some parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houses, exclusive of the cottages occupied by negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thousand.

This Island is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned fixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, intersperied with fine vallies, and in general they appear to

anana whom pagnioi experienc

The governor's falary is one thousand two hundred

be fertile. Several of the mountains contain CHAP. unextinguished volcanoes, which frequently discharge vast quantities of burning sulphur. From these mountains also issue springs of hot water, ome of which are supposed to possess great virme in the case of tropical disorders. In some places the water is faid to be hot enough to coa-

gulate an egg \*.

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Dominica is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the Island, besides a great number of rivulets. The foil, in most of the interior country, is a light brown-coloured mould, and appears to have been washed from the moun-Towards the fea-coast, and in many of tains. the vallies, it is a deep, black, and rich native arth, and feems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of West Indian produce. The under stratum is in some parts a yellow or brick day, in others a stiff terrace, but it is in most places very stony.

I am afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile land is but a very small proportion of the whole; there not being more than fifty fugar plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed, that on an average, one year with mother, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogsheads of lugar. This is certainly a very small quantity of that article for fuch an extensive Island, or even for the number of fugar plantations at preent under cultivation, allowing only one hun-

dred acres of canes to each.

Coffee DdVOL. I.

In the woods of Dominica are innumerable fwarms of bees, which hive in the trees, and produce great quantities of ax and honey, both of which are equal in goodness to any Europe. It is precisely the same species of bee as in Euope, and must have been transported thither; the native been the West Indies being a smaller species, unprovided with lings, and very different in its manners from the European.

BOOK III.

Coffee feems to answer better than Sugar, there being somewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

A small part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, are obtained from the dominions of soreign states in South America, and imported into

this island under the free-port law.

The number of white inhabitants, of all defcriptions and ages, appear, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of flaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet, inoffensive people, speak a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them understand English \*.

Such is the information which I have collected concerning the civil history and present state of Dominica, for most of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood. Nothing now remains but to set forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I shall adopt, as in other cases, from the return of

the Inspector General for the year 1787.

\* A late writer gives the following account of these people: "They are of a clear copper colour, have long, sleek, black hair: their persons are short, stout, and well made, but they dissigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fishing in the rivers and the sea, or by sowling in the woods, in both which pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is faid they will kill the smallest bird with an arrow at a great distance, or transfix a fish at a considerable depth in the sea. They display also very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers or baskets of filk grass, or the leaves and bark of trees."

CHAP.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.

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BOOK III.

#### CHAP. IV.

Leeward Charaibbean Island Government, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montferrat, and the Virgin Islands.—Civil History and Geographical Description of each.—Table of Exports from each Island for 1787; and an Account of the Money arising from the Duty of Four and a Half per Cent.—Observations concerning the Decline of these Islands, which conclude their History.

THESE several islands, since the year 1672, have constituted one distinct government; the governor being stiled Captain General of the Leeward Charaibean Islands. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua; the government of each island, in the absence of the governor-general, being usually administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island; and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the president of the council takes the command. I shall treat of them separately, and afterwards combine, in a concile summary, those circumstances which are common to them all.

Their civil history will be short; for in this part of my subject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers, who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indispensibly re-

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## SECTION I.

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THE island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possessors, the Charaibes, Liamuiga, or the Fertile Island. It was discovered in November, 1493, by Columbus himself, who was fo pleased with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own Christian name. But it was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards. It was, however (notwithstanding that the general opinion ascribes the honour of feniority to Barbadoes,) the eldest of all the British territories in the West Indies, and, in truth, the common mother both of the English and French fettlements in the Charaibean illands. The fact, as related by an historian \* to whose industry and knowledge I have been fo largely indebted in my account of St. Vincent, was this: "In the number of those gentlemen who accompanied Captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with Captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced feaman, the latter fuggefted how much eafier it would be to fix, and preserve in good order, a colony in one of the small islands, despised and deserted

BOOK by the Spaniards; than on that vast country, the III. continent, where, for want of sufficient authority, all things were fallen into confusion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpose the island of St. Christopher. This gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, resolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly associated himself with fourteen other persons, and with them took his passage on board a ship bound to Virginia. From thence he and his companions sailed from St. Christopher's, where they arrived in January 1623, and by the month of September solowing had raised a good crop of tobacco,

which they proposed to make their staple commodity." It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the first actual establishment in Barbadoes, took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of historians, who have treated of the affairs of the West Indies, it is afferted that a party of the French, under the command of a person of the name of D'Esnambuc, took possession of one part of this Island, on the fame day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the first landing of Warner and his affociates, happened two years before the arrival of D'Esnambuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the English fettlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a fudden stop to their progress. In confequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore fuccour; and it was on that occasion that he fought and obtained the powerful patronage and support of James Hay, Earl of Carlille. This nobleman caused a ship to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of necessaries.

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necessaries. It was called the Hopewell; and CHAP. arrived at St. Christopher's on the 18th of May 1624; and thus he certainly preferved a fettlement, which had otherwise died in its infancy. Warner himself did not return to St. Christopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Esnambuc arrived about the same time; perhaps the fame day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and, having in an engagement with a Spanish galleon of superior strength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after losing several of his men, to seek refuge in these islands. He brought with him to St. Christopher's about thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the English, who appear at this time to have been under fome apprehensions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with these poor favages, by whom they were liberally fupplied with provisions; but having feized on their lands, the consciousness of deferving retaliation made the planters apprehenfive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates that the French and English receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a scheme for seizing the conspirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom, fays the reverend historian, they made concubines and flaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates these transactions with perfect composure, as founded on common usage, and not unwarrantable

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BOOK able in their nature. He adds, that fuch of the III. Charaibes as escaped the massacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring islands, a large body of them returned soon afterwards, breathing revenge; and now the constitution became ferious. The Europeans however, more from the superiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

After this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted altogether this and fome of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired fouthwards. The two leaders, Warner and Defnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe for the purpose of foliciting succour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they feverally met with all possible encouragement, was knighted by his fovereign, and through the interest of his noble patron sent back as governor in 1626 with four hundred new recruits, amply fupplied with necessaries of all kinds; while Defnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu (the minister of France) projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with Defnambuc in opinion, that fuch an inflitution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization;—an erroneous conclusion, which Defnambuc himself had foon abundant occasion to lament; for the French in general either misunderstood or disapproved the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the Thips which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly supplied with provisions

visions and necessaries, that of five hundred and CHAP. thirty-two recruits, who sailed from France with IV. Desnambuc, in February 1627, the greater part

perished miserably at sea for want of food.

The English received the furvivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contells in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and figned, with many formalities, on the third of May 1627: it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof have elsewhere related. Yet furely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new fettlers towards the Charaibes was fuch B Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to ament over the miseries which besel them. The mind exults in the chastifement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

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It may now be thought that those of the two nations who survived so destructive a storm, had learnt moderation and sorbearance in the school of adversity; and indeed for some years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry and hereditary animosity were allowed their sull instructe, insomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little island exhibited a disgustful scene of internal contention, violence and bloodshed. It is impossible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the English were the first aggressors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the

reign

BOOK reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his subjects in St. Christo. pher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English Planters, and drove them out of their possessions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them. In 1680 in confequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French Planters in this island, declaring themfelves in the interests of the abdicated monarch attacked and expelled their English neighbours a fecond time, laying waste their plantations and committing fuch outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open and avowed hostility. Their conduct on this oc casion was deemed so cruel and treacherous, that it was assigned by King William and Queen Mary among the causes which induced them to declare war against the French nation. Even fortune herfelf, inclining at length to the fide of justice from henceforward deferted them; for, after they had continued about eight months fole male ters of the island, the English under the command of general Codrington, returning in great force not only compelled the French inhabitants to fur render, but actually transported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hispaniola. It is true that reparation was stipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; but was again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little ad vantage from that clause in their favour. They had however, in 1705, the gloomy fatisfaction to behold many of the English possessions again laid waste by a French armament, which committed fuch ravages that the British Parliamen found it necessary to distribute the sum of 1. 103,000 among the fufferers, to enable them

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to re-fettle their plantations. Happily, this was CHAP. the last exertion of national enmity and civil discord within this little community; for at the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions publicly fold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, £. 80,000 of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the princess Anne, who was betrothed to the Prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who consented to take the oaths, were naturalized, and permitted to retain their estates.

Such was the origin and progress of the British establishment in the Island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invalion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrifon of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thoufand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the confequent furrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1783, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I presume are somewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

St. Christopher lies in 17° North latitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and 4000 to pasturage. As sugar is the only commodity of any account that is raised, except provisions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole island is unfit for cul-

tivation.

BOOK tivation. The interior part of the country confifts indeed of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of these, the loftiest is Mount-Misery (evidently a decayed volcano) which rises 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the fea. Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the sterility of the mountains, by the fertility the has bestowed upon the plains. No part of the West-Indies that I have seen possesses even the same species of soil that is found in St. Christopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, fo light and porous as to be penetrable by the flightest application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of fubterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalists, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under stratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is no where found, except at a confiderable height in the mountains.

By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the production of fugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province or ability to explain. The circumstance however, is unquestionable. Canes, planted in particular spots, have been known to yield 8000 lbs. of Muscovado fugar from a fingle acre. One gentleman, in a favourable feafon, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogfheads of fixteen cwt. each, per acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greatest part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the island, is equally productive. The general average produce for a feries of years is 16,000 hogsheads of fixteen cwt. which, as one-half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut (the remainder being in young canes)

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nules) ves gives nearly two hogsheads of fixteen cwt. per CHAP. acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled I imagine by any other sugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though some of the choicest lands may yield in favourable years two hogsheads of fixteen cwt. per acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I am informed, however, that the planters of St. Christopher's are at a great expence for manure; that they never cut ration canes \*; and although there is no want in the country of springs and rivulets for the support of the inhabitants, their plantations suffer much in dry weather, as the substratum does not long retain moisture.

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Basseterre (the present capital, as it was formerly that of the French,) Sandy-Point, Old Road and Deep Bay. Of these, the two first are ports of entry, established by law. The fortifications consist of Charles-Fort, and Brimstone-Hill, both near Sandy Point; three batteries at Basseterre, one at Fig-tree Bay, another at Palmeto-Point, and some smaller ones of no great importance.

The proportion which St. Christopher's contributes, with the other islands, towards an homourable provision for the Governor General, is f. 1000 currency per annum; which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his arrival. He has besides some perquisites; and in time of

war they are confiderable.

Each island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an affembly, or house of representatives. In St. Christopher's,

<sup>\*</sup> Ration canes are shoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

BOOK pher's, the council should consist of ten members, but it is seldom that more than seven are present. The house of assembly is composed of twenty-four representatives, of whom sisteen make a quorum. The requisite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a house worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds per annum.

The Governor of this, and the other islands in the same government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Christopher sits alone. Attempts have been made to join some of the council with him, as in Barbadoes; but hitherto without success, the inhabitants choosing rather to submit to the expence and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than suffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, some of whom it is probable, from their situation and connections, may be interested in the event of every suit that may come before them.

In this island, as in Jamaica, the jurisdiction of both the King's bench and common pleas, centers in one superior court, wherein justice is administered by a chief justice and four puisne judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, the others by the governor in the King's name, and they all hold their commissions during pleasure. The office of chief judge is worth about £. 600 per annum. The emoluments of the affistant judges are trisling.

The present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes, and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other British islands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of fix-

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xn teen to fixty are obliged to enlift in the militia, CHAP. and in this island they serve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment seldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewise a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, constituted the whole of the military force within the island; the British government refusing to send them troops of any kind.

Of the wisdom of such conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural strength of this island, from the conformation and inequalities of its surface, is such that a garrison of two thousand effective troops, properly supplied with ammunition and provisions, would in all human probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invasion of 1782.

With St. Christopher's furrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a small channel, and of which I shall now give some account.

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BOOK III.

SECTION IL

#### NEVIS.

THIS beautiful little fpot is nothing more than a fingle mountain, rifing like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues. It is believed that Columbus bestowed on it the appellation of Nieves, or The Snows, from its refemblance to a mountain of the same name in Spain; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in those days a white smoke was seen to iffue from the fummit, which at a distance had a snowlike appearance, and that it derived its name from thence. That the island was produced by fome volcanic explosion, in ages long past, there can be no doubt; for there is a hollow, or crater, near the fummit, still visible, which contains a hot fpring strongly impregnated with fulphur; and fulphur is frequently found in fubstance, in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth.

The country is well watered and the land in general fertile, a small proportion towards the summit of the island excepted, which answers however for the growth of ground provisions, such as yams and other esculent vegetables. The soil is stony; the best is a loose black mould, on a clay. In some places, the upper stratum is a stiff clay, which requires

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requires labour, but properly divided and pul-CHAP. verifed, repays the labour bestowed upon it. IV. The general produce of sugar (its only staple production) is one hogshead of sixteen cwt. per acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the taxes. As at St. Christopher's the planters seldom cut ratioon canes.

This island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes. It contains a town called Charles-Town, the seat of government and a port of entry, and there are two other shipping places, called Indian-Castle and New-Castle. The principal fortification is at Charles-Town, and is called Charles Fort. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a salary from the island.

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ch res The government, in the absence of the Governor-General, is administered by the president of the council. This board is composed of the president, and six other members. The house of assembly consists of fasteen representatives; three for each parish.

The administration of common law is under the guidance of a chief justice, and two assistant judges, and there is an office for the registry of deeds.

The present number of white inhabitants is stated to me not to exceed six hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thousand; a disproportion which necessarily converts all such white men as are not exempted by age and decrepitude, into a well-regulated militia, among which there is a troop consisting of fifty horse, well mounted Vol. I.

BOOK and accoutred. English forces, on the British

III. establishment, they have none.

The English first established themselves in this island in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different classes of men, who fought to im prove their fortunes in St. Christopher's by the patronage of that enterprifing leader, it can hardly be prefumed that every individual experienced th full gratification of his hopes and expectations In all focieties, there are many who will confide themselves unjustly overlooked and forgotten Of the companions of Warner's earliest voyages it is probable that some would set too high a va lue on their fervices, and of those who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arri val, that the best lands were pre-occupied. To foften and temper fuch discordancy and disquiet by giving full employment to the turbulent and feditious, feems to have been one of the mof important objects of Warner's policy. Motive of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at fo early a period; and the wisdom and propriety of his first regulation gave strength and stability to the settlement.

What Warner began wisely, was happily completed by his immediate successor Mr. Lake, under whose administration Nevis rose to opulence and importance. "He was a wise man," says Du Tertre, "and seared the Lord." Making this island the place of his residence, it slourished beyond example. It is said, that about the year 1640, it possessed four thousand Whites: so powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable system of government. Will the reader pardon me, if I observe at the same time, that sew situations in life could have afforded greater selicity than that of such a go-

vernor

vernor. Living amidst the beauties of an eter-CHAP. nal fpring, beneath a fky ferene and unclouded, IV. and in a spot inexpressibly beautiful (for it is en. livened by a variety of the most enchanting profpects in the world, in the numerous islands which furround it) but above all, happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, administered to the necessities, and augmented the comforts of thousands of his fellow-creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector! If there be pure joy on earth, it must have existed in the bosom of such a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude and approbation towards; him in every countenance, and whose heart at the same time told him that he deferved it.

I am forty that I must present the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am

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BOOK III.

# SECTION MIL.

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ANTIGUA is fituated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's, and was discovered at the same time with that island, by Columbus himself, who named it, from a church in Seville, Santa Maria de la Antiqua. We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was Jamaica. It is a singular circumstance, that this word, which in the language of the larger islands signified a country abounding in springs, should, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an island that has not a single spring or rivulet of fresh water in it.

This inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for some time the European adventurers in the neighbouring islands from attempting a permanent establishment in Antigua; but nature presents sew obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to surmount. The lands were sound to be fertile, and it was discovered that ciserus might be contrived to hold rain-water.

The water thus preserved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome.

So early as 1632, a few English families took up CHAP. lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendants still possess very considerable property in the island, one of them (Ashton Warner, Esquire) having been, in 1787, president of the council, and commander in chief in the absence of the governor.

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But it was chiefly to the enterprising spirit and extensive views of Colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes, that Antigua was indebted for its growing prosperity and subsequent opulence. This gentleman removing to this island about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in fugar-planting with fuch good effect and fuccess, that others, animated by his example, and affifted by his advice and encouragement, adventured in the ame line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was some years afterwards nominated captain general and commander in chief of all the leeward Chamibean islands, and, deriving from this appointment, the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purposes, had soon the happiness of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wisdom, in the flourishing condition of the feveral islands under his government.

The prosperity of Antigua was manifested in its extensive population; for when, in the year 1690, General Codrington commanded on the expedition against the French inhabitants of St. Christopher's, as hath been related in the history of that island, Antigua furnished towards it no less than eight hundred effective men: a quota, which gives room to estimate the whole. number of its white inhabitants at that time, at

upwards of five thousand.

Mr. Codrington dying in 1698, was succeeded in his government by his fon Christopher; 2 gentleman BOOK gentleman eminently diffinguished for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the same paths as his illustrious father, gave the people under his government the promife of a long continuance of felicity. His administration, however, terminated at the end of fix years; for in 1704 he was superfeded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying foon after his arrival, the Queen was pleased to appoint to the government of this and the neighbouring islands, Daniel Park, Eig. a man whole tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furnished a lesson for history to perpetuate, I shall be excused for entering somewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

Mr. Park was a native of Virginia, and was diftinguished for his excesses at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then defert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to Parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being profecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough .- In 1704, he attended the Duke as one of his aides de camp, and as fuch, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been fent by his Grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thoufand guineas, and her picture richty fet with diamonds. The year following, the government of the leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park,

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Park, through the interest of his noble patron, CHAP. was appointed to fucceed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July 1706.

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Mr. ark,

As he was a native of America, and his interest with the British administration was believed to be confiderable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, who were probably unacquainted with his private character, received him with fingular respect, and the assembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal instruction, added a thousand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expressed in the vote, to relieve him from the expence of house-rent; a provision which, I believe, has been continued ever fince to his fucceffors in the government.

The return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindness, was an avowed and unrestrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man; and it was foon observed of him, as it had formerly been of another detestable tyrant, that he spared no man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. One of his first enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Chefter, who was factor to the royal African company, and the most considerable merchant in the island. Aprehending that the injured husband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery; for Chester having about this time had the misfortune to kill a person by accident, his excellency, who had raised a common soldier to the office of provostmarshal, brought him to a trial for his life; directing his inftrument the provost-marshal, to impanel a jury of certain perfons, from whom he doubted not to obtain Chester's conviction;

BOOK and the execution of this innocent and injured III. man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overborne; fo that the Jury were

compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

Another of his exploits was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the island of Barbuda (of which they had held peaceable possession for thirty years) by calling on them to prove their title before himself and his council; a measure which gave every proprietor reason to apprehend that he had no security for his possessions but the governor's forbearance.

He declared that he would fuffer no provostmarshal to act, who should not at all times summon such juries as he should direct. He changed the mode of electing members to serve in the assembly, in order to exclude persons he did not like; and not being able by this measure to procure an assembly to his wish, he resused to call them together even when the French

threatened an invafion.

He entered the house of Mr. Chester, the person before mentioned, with an armed force, and seized several gentlemen (some of them, the principal men of the island) who were there met for the purpose of good fellowship, on suspicion that they were concerting measures against himself; most of whom he sent by his own authority to the common Jail, and kept them there without bail or trial.

By these, and a thousand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party against him, and dispatched an agent to England to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting in the first instance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the

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business, the people lost all temper, and began CHAP. to confider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the last of which he was grievously. but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily the furious and exasperated state of men's minds admitted of no compromise, and the rash impetuous governor was not of a disposition to soften

or conciliate, if occasion had offered.

At length, however, instructions came from the crown directing Mr. Park to refign his command to the lieutenant governor, and return to England by the first convenient opportunity; at the fame time Commissioners were appointed to take examinations on the fpot, concerning the complaints which had been urged against his conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their fuccess with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifested, on receipt of the queen's orders, provoked the governor into desperation. declared that he would continue in the government in spite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ship was about to fail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked. he refused to leave the country. In the meanwhile, to convince the people that his firmness was unabated, and that he still considered himfelf in the rightful exercise of his authority, he issued a proclamation to dissolve the assembly.

Matters were now coming fast to an iffue. The affembly continued fitting notwithstanding the governor's proclamation, and refolved, that, having been recalled by his fovereign, his continuance in the government was usurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the fafety and peace of the island. On hearing of this vote, the governor fecretly or-

dered

BOOK dered a party of foldiers to furround them; but the affembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately separated to provide for their personal safety. The ensuing night, and the whole of the following day, were employed in fummoning the inhabitants from all parts of the island, to hasten to the capital, properly armed, to protect their representatives. It was given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended, was to fecure his per-

fon, and fend him from the island.

On Thursday the 7th of December 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of Saint John's, where Colonel Park had been making provision for refistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants however, his courage deferted him. The fight of an injured people, coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour, to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, overwhelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized, that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to concession. He dispatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the affembly at Parham, and to confent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the fafety of his person. The speaker of the affembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, feemed inclined to a compromife, and propoled

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posed themselves as two of the hostages required CHAP. by the governor; but the general body of the 1V. people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and inftantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the affembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. Their fire was brilkly returned for a confiderable time, but at length the affailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the fame moment a wound which laid him proftrate. His attendants, seeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, feizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the Befides the governor, an enfign and thirteen private foldiers, who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. Of the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

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Thus perished, in a general insurrection of an insulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious despot, than whom no state criminal was ever more deservedly punished. He was a monster in wickedness, and being placed by his situation beyond the reach of ordinary restraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means possible, as it would have been to shoot a wild beast that had broke its limits, and was gorging itself with human blood. "The people of England (says an eminent writer\*) heard with asso-

nishment

<sup>\*</sup> Univerfal Hiftory, Vol. XLI.

BOOK nishment of Park's untimely sate; but the public III. were divided in their sentiments; some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it as a sacrifice to liberty. The slagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better." In the latter affertion however, the writer is clearly mistaken; for the English government, after full investigation, was so thoroughly satisfied of Mr. Park's misconduct, as to issue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all persons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted some time afterwards to seats in the council.

From this period I close my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence in its subsequent history of sufficient importance to detain the reader; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found

correct.

Antigua is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and pasturage annexed: its other principal staples are cotton-wool, and tobacco; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed; and they raise in favourable years

great quantities of provisions.

This island contains two different kinds of foil; the one a black mould on a substratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by excessive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly subject, very productive. The other is a stiff clay on a substratum of marl. It is much less fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradicable kind of grass in such a manner, that many estates consisting of that kind of soil, which were once very prositable, are now so impoverished and overgrown

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with this fort of grass, as either to be convert-CHAP. ed into pasture land, or to become entirely aban-IV. doned. Exclusive of such deserted land, and a small part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the island may be said to be under cultivation.

From the circumstances that have been related, it is difficult to furnish an average return of the crops, which vary to so great a degree, that the quantity of sugar exported from this island in some years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were shipped 3,382 hogsheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogsheads, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being destroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes must have perished for want of food, if American vessels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance.

It seems to me on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and sexes were 2,590, and the enslaved negroes 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000 hogsheads of sugar of fixteen cwt. are reckoned a good saving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogshead of sugar per aere for each acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion to its extent, than to any other of the British islands in the West Indies.

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Antigua is divided into fix parishes, and eleven districts, and contains fix towns and villages. Saint John's (the capital,) Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby BOOK Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort;
III. of which, the two first are legal ports of entry.

No island, in this part of the West Indies, can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English harbour and Saint John's, both well fortified, and at the former, the British government has established a royal navy yard and arsenal, and conveniences for careening ships of war.

The military establishment generally confiss of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewise a squadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raised in the island, and the regulars receive additional

pay, as in Jamaica.

It hath been already observed, that the governor or captain general of the leeward Charaibean islands, although directed by his instructions to vifit occasionally each island within his government, is generally stationary at Antigua: he is chancellor of each island by his office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining causes from the other islands, presides alone. In causes arising in Antigua, he is affifted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the affembly of this island, confirmed by the crown, the prefident and a certain number of the council may determine chancery causes during the abfence of the governor general. The other courts of this island are a court of king's bench, a court of common pleas, and a court of exchequer.

The legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an assembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour that it presented the first example to the sister islands of a melioration of

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the criminal law respecting negroe slaves, by CHAP. giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital convictions four days between the time of fentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the flave-trade, is an account of the labours of the fociety known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum (commonly called Moravians,) in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this bufiness displays such found judgment, breathes fuch a spirit of genuine christianity, and has been attended with such eminent fuccess, as to entitle its brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-feeing and impartial governor of the universe. With an abridgement of that account, I shall close the subject of my present discussion. It is as follows:

"The church of the united brethren have, ever fince the year 1732, been active in preaching the gospel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal success in all places. The method here described, and made use of by the missionaries of the said church, in leading the negroe-slaves in the West Indies to the knowledge and

practice

BOOK practice of christianity, is followed, in all III. points that are not local, in all the missions of the brethren.

After many years unfuccefsful labour, experience has taught them, that the plain testimony concerning the death and passion of Jesus Christ the Son of God, together with its cause and happy consequences, delivered by a missionary touched with an experimental fense of it, is the furest way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards step by step into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extensive discussion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite spirit, of the holy trinity, &c. nor to feek to open their understandings in those points, until they believe in Jesus, and that the word of the cross has proved itself the power of God unto falvation, by the true conversion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progress of their instructions, the missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as possible; and the Lord has given his bleffing even to the most unlearned, that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, fo as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty arises indeed from the new ideas and words necessary to express the divine truths to be introduced into them, but even this has been furmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of fin, in any land or place, nor any prevailing custom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of God, given unto all mankind: upon the fulfilment of this, the

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missionaries infift every where: every thing that CHAP. is accounted decent and virtuous among chriftians, is inculcated into the minds of the people; drunkenness, adultery, whoredom, forcery, theft, anger and revenge, and all other works of the flesh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apoftles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heathenism and idolatry, it follows of course, that any one guilty of these things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and fincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away: but it is not fufficient that the believers abstain from open scandal, their private behaviour in their families. and in every occurrence of life, must evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren have missions, are fo much under the influence of their mafters, and of a variety of circumstances that attend their being flaves, that it may perhaps feem more difficult to effect a change of customs and practices, and to enforce a fleady christian conduct in all eafes amongst them, than amongst free heathens; and yet it must be owned, to the praise of God, that this is visible at present in many thousand converted negroes.

The missionaries, however, have frequent occasions to see with forrow, how deeply rooted the habit of sin, and the tendency to excuse it, is in the minds of the negroes; who, when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every sensual lust; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to suffer the least deviation from the right path to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before observed, that bapIII.

BOOK tifm is administered to none, but to such in whom a thorough conversion of heart is already perceivable. As foon as they are confidered as candidates for baptifus, they are subject to the discipline of the church, by which if they of. fend, and private admonition and reproof have not the defired effect, they are excluded from the fellowship of the rest, though they may attend public fervice, and every means is still faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant, in case of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's supper. This discipline has, by God's bleffing, had fo good an effect, that many a believing negroe would rather fuffer the feverest bodily punishment than incur it. If they confess their fins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the presence of a part or the whole of the congregation, re-admitted to the fellowship of the church. The believing negroes are not fuffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the fake of feafting, dancing, gaming, &c., and the usual plea of not entering into the finful part of these diversions, is never admitted, inasmuch as the least step towards vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into gross The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is confidered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jefus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forfake all ungodliness, and devote themselves unto God; and if they perfift in evil ways, the faithfulness due to the rest of the flock on the part of the missionaries demands their separation, lest they feduce others.

The polygamy of the negroes has caufed no small embarrassiment to the missionaries. The following following is a short account of the brethren's CHAP. manner of treating them in this particular: When a negroe man or woman applies as above described, to be baptized or received into the congregation, firici enquiry is made concerning every circumstance attending his or her fituation and connections in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the brethren have to advise him in this particular: St. Paul fays, "if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and that is yet an heathen, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away," I Cor. 7. 21; but again he fays, "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," I Tim. 3. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy scriptures concerning this fubject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the missionaries should keep strictly to the following resolutions:

I. That they could not compel a man, who had before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without

her or their confent.

II. But yet, that they could not appoint fuch a man to be a helper or fervant in the

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III. That a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himself only to that woman, till death parts them.

The instances that a man has three wives are few; all mistresses must of course be put away without exception; besides this, the missionaries lose no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this state conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is severely cen-

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fured.

BOOK fured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives befides the first, or in case he has had two, and one dies, and he should marry another, he is excluded the fellowship of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heathenish cuftoms in courting a wife, but they expect, that in case a believer wish to marry, he do all things in a decent and christian manner: it is of course expected that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, shewing them a good example. If by a fale of negroes by auction, or in any other way, wives are torn from their husbands, or husbands from their wives, and carried off to distant islands, though the brethren do not advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person. especially, if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to render an helpmate necessary; and, as is mostly the case, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptism is given to every baptized negro, that must thus leave the congregation; and there have been instances, that by their godly walk and conversation in distant parts, they have caused others to hearken to their word, and believe.

Though all the above injunctions are of fuch a nature, that they not only war against their heathenish propensities, but even against what fome might call excufable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this present time, some thoufand negroes in Antigua, and other islands, sub-

mit to them with willingness.

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The number of converted Negro flaves under CHAP. the care of the brethren, at the end of the year IV. 1787, was,

In Antigua, exactly In St. Kitt's, a new mission In Barbadoes and Jamaica, a- bout In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and	5,465
	• 10e
St. Jan, about In Surinam, about	10,000
Still living in the West Indies and Surinam as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts."	16,045

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## MONTSERRAT.

OF this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with St. Christopher's, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the sace of the country, to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

The name was all that was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher's, detached in 1632 from the adventurers under Warbeen partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher's uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has never since possessed; if it be true, as afferted by Oldmixon, that at the end of sixteen years there were in the island upwards of one thousand white samilies, constituting a militia of three hundred and sixty effective men.

The civil history of this little island contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and suffered so much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inserted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to enquire into the damages; which however were not made good to the sufferers. It was again invaded, and with most of the other islands captured by the French in the late war, and restored with the rest.

Nothing therefore remains but to furnish the reader with an account of its present state in respect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

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Montferrat is about three leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In sugar, fix thousand acres: In cotton, provisions, and pasturage, two thousand each. None other of the tropical staples are raised. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were

were 2,737 hogfheads of fugar of fixteen hundred CHAP. weight, 1,107 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales IV. of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be feen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thousand three hundred whites.

and about ten thousand negroes.

The government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain general. The council confifts of fix members, and the affembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided: and the proportion which Montferrat contributes to the falary of the captain general is f. 400 per annum. all "allowed the never

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#### and the following was aloned in SECTION V. is drykly land Camera a forgat, to

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OF the Virgin Islands I have fo few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my researches. I have, however, solicited information of those who I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my enquiries were not flighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late historical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief justice of these islands, I find but little of which I can avail myself. It furnishes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is filent as to the number of their present

BOOK prefent English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands were named Las Virgines, by Columbus himself, who discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation, in allusion to a well-known

legend in the Romish ritual.

The Spaniards of those days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century afterwards (1596) they were vifited by the Earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto Rico, and the historian of that voyage calls them " a knot of little islands wholly uninhabited, " fandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islots, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda \*, Josvan Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Island, Peter's Island, and several others of little value. The Danes poffess St. Thomas, with about twelve fmaller islands dependent thereon, and the Spaniards claim Crab Island, the Green or Serpent Island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage.

The first possessions of such of these islands as now belong to the British government, were a party of Dutch Bucaniers who fixed themselves at Tortola (in what year is not recorded) and built a fort there for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take possession for the crown of England, and

<sup>\*</sup> This last is likewise called Penniston, and corruptly Spanish Town.

the English monarch, if he did not commission CHAP. the enterprize, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Island government, in a commission granted by King Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the English title has remained un-

impeached from that time to this.

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The Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its subsequent improvements was referved for some English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who, about a century past, embarked with their families and fettled in the Virgin Islands. Their wants were few, and their government fimple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themselves, exercifed both the legislative and judicial authority, determining in a fummary manner, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject; and as to taxes, there feem to have been none laid: when money was absolutely necessary for public use, it was raised, I believe, by voluntary contribution.

Under such a system, it was impossible that the colony could attain to much importance. It wanted the advantage of English capitals; but credit is sparingly given where payment cannot easily be ensorced. The inhabitants therefore, whose numbers in 1756, amounted to 1,263 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reasonably hoped to be put on the same footing with the fister islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government, and constitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year, they presented an humble petition to the captain general of the Lee-

BOOK ward Island government, requesting his ExcellenIII. cy to unite with them in an application to his Majesty, for permission to elect an assembly of representatives out of the freeholders and planters, in
order that such assembly, with the governor and
council, might frame proper laws for their peace,
welfare, and good government; pledging themselves, in that case, to grant to his Majesty, his
heirs and successors, an impost of four and a half
per centum, in specie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that
which was paid in the other Leeward Islands.

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Their application (thus fweetened) proved fuccessful. It was fignified to them that his Majesty, fully confidering the persons, circumstances, and condition of his faid Virgin Islands, and the necessity there was, from the then state of their culture and inhabitancy, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; " and finally trusting that his " faithful subjects in his said Virgin Islands, who " should compose the new assembly, would, as " the first act of legislation, cheerfully make " good the engagement of granting to his Ma-" jefty, his heirs and fucceffors, the impost of " four and a half per centum, on all the pro-" duce of the Virgin Islands, to be raised and " paid in the same manner as the four and a " half per centum is made payable in the other " Leeward Islands," did cause his royal pleasure to be fignified to the governor in chief, that he should iffue writs in his Majesty's name, for convening an affembly or house of representatives, who, together with a council, to be composed of twelve persons, to be appointed by the governor for that purpole, might frame and pass fuch laws as should be necessary for the welfare and good government of the faid Islands. Accordingly

Accordingly, on the 30th of November, 1773, CHAP. the governor in chief of the Leeward Islands, in obedience to his Majesty's order, issued a proclamation for convening an assembly or house of representatives of the Virgin Islands, who met on the 1st of February following, and very honourably complied with their engagement to the crown; the very first act passed by them being the grant before mentioned of four and a half per centum, on the produce of the colony for ever. They afterwards passed a grant of £. 400 currency per annum, as their proportion towards the salary of the governor general.

Such was the price at which the Virgin Islands purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the case of Grenada, it may perhaps be said (as I believe the fact was) that the inhabitants of these islands were unapprised of the rights which they inherited as British subjects, when they voluntarily proposed to subject themselves and their posterity to the tax in question for permission to enjoy them; and their posterity may perhaps dispute the authority which their foresathers exercised on this occasion.

The chief, and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton. Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either, I have no account, nor can I venture even to guess, at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: the exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add, that they were raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

BOOK

HAVING so far treated of the several is lands which constitute what is called the Leeward Island Government, as they stand distinct from each other, I close my account, as in former cases, with an authentic Table of their Returns for 1787; after which, I shall, as proposed, offer a few observations on circumstances which are common to them all.

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An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, &c. that have cleared outwards from the Islands of St. Christo-pher's and Antigua, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account

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Whither bound.		PPING	SHIPPING. Sugar.	Rum.	Molaffes	Indi- 80.	Cotton.	Dying Woods in Value.	Mifcellaneous Articles, in Value.	TOTAL
To Great Britain 53 Freland American States 23 Brit. Amer. Cols. 15 Foreign W. Indies. 19		Tons. Me 350 3 3,457 14 1,201 11	No. Toni. Men Cwt. gri. lbi. Galloni. Galloni. 53 11,992 764 231,397 2 12 78,299 8,154 3 350 30 3,099 8,500 21 2,457 140 386 167,740 19 1,201 110 646 65,000	78,29 8,50 167,74 65,00	Gallons.	318	484,640	5,824 I 6	33,195 16 10 186 10 — 19 — —	480,178 15 6,035 6 15,512 15 6,788 10
sopher's	200	23,155159	10 235,528 2 1	3	17.5	318	484,640	8,989 1 6	33,456 19 4	- \$10°01\$

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484,483 50,768 44,679 11,031	892,596 15	,
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3,510	5,910	
128,936 97,400 375,150 109,320 5,740	716,546	
-	1 18	İ
254,575 22,295 6,779 844 33	184,526	
90125 159 22 552 177 259	2048	Ī
13,806 1,909 8,281 2,127 2,540	28,663	
4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	233	
To Great Britain Ireland American States Brit. Amer. Cols. Foreign W. Indies	Total from Antigua	

An

BOOK III.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, &c. that have cleared outwards from the stands of Mont-serrat, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788; to-gether with an Account of their Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

Whither bound.	SH	SHIPPING.	ö	Sugar.	Rum.	Molaffe	So.	Cotton.	Dying Woods, in Value.	Articles, in Value.	TOTAL	
To Great Britain American States Brit. Amer. Cols. Foreign W. Indies Africa		No. Tons. 1.850 7 3.797 7 3.085 7 1025	341. 138 138 377	Cwt. qrs. lbs. 108.315 = 21 1,895 = 64	Gallons. 4,406 122,710 21,300 140,660	Gallons.	140.	16s. 91,972 500	353 7 6	1,162 3 2 70 10 41 6 3 89 4	185,709 10 13,981 12 2,053 14 12,396 19	The state of the state of
ferrat and Nevis	112	10,787	904	110,284 - 21	289,076	1,313	140	92,472	352 7	6 1,363 3 5	214,141 16	
	10			Δ	VIRGIN ISLANDS.	NIS	LA	N D S.	S. ASPACE	L. Land		1. 1
To Great Britain American States	25.	5,137	42	75,749 1	17,900	110,5	11	287,577	6,561 2 6	2,313 18 9	164,118 17	1 1
Brit. Amer. Cols. Foreign W. Indies	400	581	5.0	363	7,000	11	11		11	33	1,130 15	11
Total from the Virgin Idands	9	6,516	436	79,203 1	6 21, 17	1,001	1	289,077	6,651 1 6	2,340 18 5	166,959 12	200
Crand Total	202	69.121	4978	505 69,121 4978 709,542 2	11,361,64	8 17.18	484	1,026,699	1,361,648 17,388 484 1,026,699 17,134 18 - 85,147 11	85,147 II S	s 1,483,712 S	

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IN furveying these islands collectively, the CHAP. circumstance that first presents itself to notice is the burthen of the four and half per centum on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was in most other cases, as well as the Virgin islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be fatisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the net produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal; but no such information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the public. The last return that I am possessed of, is dated for long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on account of this duty, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in twenty-one years, (from Christmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to 1. 326,529. 2s. 3dt. fterling, of which it is shameful to relate that no more than f. 140,032. 135. 5d1. was paid into the British Exchequer; upwards of 6.80,000 having been retained in the Islands for the charges of collecting, and f. 105,000 more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commissions, sees of office, and other claims and deductions \*.

From the net money paid into the exchequer on account of this duty, the Governor General of these islands receives a salary of £. 1,200 sterl. (exclusive of the several sums granted him by the

69,1214978,709,542

Grand Total

IN

Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

BOOK colonial affemblies\*) and I believe that falaries are allowed from the same fund to the lieutenant general, and the several lieutenant governors. I have been informed too, that the governors of the Bahama and Bermudas islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after these and some other deductions are

made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

But it is impossible not to observe, that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years past, progressively on the decline; and it is therefore probable that the present net produce of this duty is not more than sufficient to defray the several incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented, by purchase, because, as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour, to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not encreased in the same degree, nothing could have saved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the markets of Europe.

It appears from authentic accounts laid before parliament, that the import of sugar into Great Britain from all the British West Indies (Jamaica excepted) has decreased, in the course of twenty years, from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,363,228 cwt. The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than £.400,000 sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands, which are subject

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† Being the average of two periods, the first from 1772 to

1775, the second from 1788 to 1792.

These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Christopher's £. 1000 currency each. Nevis £. 400. Montserrat £. 400. Virgin Islands £. 400. The usual rate of exchange is 165 per cent. These sums therefore, added to £. 1200 sterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole falary £. 3000 sterling per annum.

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subject to the duty in question; to the effects of CHAP. which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed; for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a penalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother country. It is confidered by the planters as equal to ten per cent. on the net produce of their estates for ever. Under such a burthen, which, while it oppresses the colonies, yield a profit of no great confideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British planters in the other islands, and have been still more depressed by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the Free on colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land which, though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would still; with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest foil, is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from a decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expences, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages sustained in St. Christopher's alone, by De Grasse's invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at f. 160,000 sterling, which sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for desraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly burthensome; besides parish taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the

clergy, and the relief of the poor.

Vol. I. G

But,

BOOK III.

But, under all these and the other discourage. ments which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother country, must fill every reslect. ing mind with jurprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one. tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain of having fugar islands of her own. At the fame time, it is both amusing and instructive to confider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, fimilar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was Peru and Mexico into Spain. told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gilbert, and it is a lamentable difplay of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the wife and learned Raleigh bewildered in the same folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wife enough to acknowledge that gold and filver have only an artificial and relative value; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great fources of national prosperity.

The produce of these islands however, though of such value to the mother country, is raised at an expence to the cultivator, which perhaps is eth

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not equalled in any other pursuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expence too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other; owing to calamities, to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of omnipotence!

At the time that I write this, the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or sictitious distresses of the African labourers in these and the other islands of the West Indies: And the holders and employers of those people seem to be marked out to the public indignation for proscription and ruin. So strong and universal a sympathy allows no room for the sober exercise of reason, or it would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race, must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the master, will exterminate the slave.

The propriety of these remarks will be seen in subsequent parts of my work, when I come in course to treat of the slave trade and slavery; and to consider the commercial system of Great Britain towards her West Indian dependencies, of which I have now compleated the catalogue. Here then I might close the third book of my history, but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of Bahama and Bermudas; \* to which indeed it

G g 2 Was

<sup>\*</sup> I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of Anguilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island Government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

BOOK was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpole; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatifes with which the shelves of the booksellers are loaded. To repeat therefore what may be found in books that are always at hand. were to manifest difrespect to the reader, and difregard to myfelf. Of the present state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to acknowledge my ignorance, inafmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain fatisfactory information concerning it. To their lordships enquiries as to the extent of territory in those islands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,—productions and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the Governor was this, that it was impossible to ascertain any of those particulars at present. It appears, however, from the testimony of other persons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 confifted of two thousand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years confiderably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers no precise account is given.

Concerning Bermudas, Governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their Lordships queries, it appears that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor

land,

land, of which nine parts in ten are either un-CHAP. cultivated, or referved in woods for the supplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops for sale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the vessels which they furnish, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

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s - Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables (of which a considerable supply is sent to the West Indian Islands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great success, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thousand four hundred and fixty-two; of blacks four thousand nine hundred and nineteen \*.

Thus

<sup>\*</sup> It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which Governor Brown has transmitted to Government, concerning their treatment of their negro flaves. " Nothing (he 'obferves) can better shew the state of slavery in Bermudas than the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro flaves, who behaved both as failors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were feveral instances wherein they had been condemned with the veffel and fold, and afterwards found means to escape; and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their masters service. In the ship Regulator, a privateer, there were feventy flaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New York. One only was missing, who died in the cruize, or in captivity."

BOOK Thus it appears that the lands become less fertile as we recede from the tropics, and were
there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propensity in the greater part of mankind,
to underrate what they have in actual possession,
it would require but little effort to convince the
public of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth
has now been traced from the first settlement.
What remains is to convey that conviction to
the English reader. This then, after taking a
cursory survey, for the gratification of curiosity,
of the present inhabitants and the system of agriculture, will be the chief endeavour of the subsequent volume.

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THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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#### APPENDIX

TO

#### VOLUME THE FIRST

Soon after the preceding pages were printed, the Author received from Jamaica the Catalogue (mentioned in page 189 of this volume) of exotic plants in the very magnificent garden of the late Hinton East, Esq. in that Island, which being equally curious and accurate, he has now the satisfaction of presenting it to his Readers entire.

Plantæ numerofissimæ quibus obvestit globum terraqueus.

Deus optimus maximus, sunt totidem documenta infinitæ sapientiæ, natæ in gloriam sui Creatoris, et in commodum hominis, cujus est eas intueri.

AMŒN. ACAD. vol. vi. p. 40.

4 100.00

# HORTUS EASTENSIS:

O R,

A CATALOGUE of EXOTIC PLANTS, in the Garden of HINTON EAST, Esquire, in the Mountains of Liguanea, in the Island of Jamaica, at the time of his decease. By ARTHUR BROUGHTON, M. D.

#### Claffis I.

# MONOGYNIA.

Eaft-Indies Guinea Eaft-Indies	Eaft-Indies Eaft-Indies South-America
Yellow Indian Shot Guinea Pepper	Turmerick Galangale Indian Arrow-root
indica var. lutea Granum paradifi	longa Galanga geniculata
CANNA	CORCOMA KENTTRIA THALIA

Z. B. Edwards, Efq. 1783 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775-

Mr. Shakefpear, 1780 Tho. Hibbert, Efq. 1785 \* This plant has now feveral Times perfected its Seed, from which it appears to be the true Guinea or Malagita Pepper and Grains of Paradife of the Shops; it is not however an Amomum, but approaches nearer to the Limodonum than any Claffe

### Claffis II.

### DIANDRIA

### MONOGTNIA

VYCTANTHES	Sambac var. fl. pleno	nbac var. f. pleno Double Arabian Jasmine Eaft-Indie	Eaft-Indies	H. Eaft, efg. 1775
ASMINUM	officinale	Common Jafmine		
THE PARTY	Janceolatum?	Narrow-leav'd Jafmine	Eaft-Indies	H. Eaft, efq. 1787
0	azoricum	Azorian Jafmine	Madeira	H. Eaft, efq. 1787
	odoratismum	Yellow Indian Jafmine	Madeira	M. Wallen, efq. 17
OLEA	curopea	European Olive	Europe	M. Wallen, efq. 17
	fragrans	Sweet-fcented Olive	China	H. Eaft, efq. 1783
SYRINGA	vulgaris	Common Lilac	Perfia	M. Wallen, efq. 17
	perfica	Perfian Lilac	Perfia .	M. Wallen, efq. 17
TUSTICIA	fp. nov. arborea		Italy	Tho. Hibbert, efq.
DIANTHERA	americana	American Balfam	Virginia	
ROSMARINUS	officinalis	Rofemary	Europe	
SALVIA	officinalis	Garden Sage	S. of Europe	
THE OWNER WITH	africana	African Sage	C. of G. Hope	Tho. Clarke,
THE STATE OF	coccined	Scarlet Sage	Eaft-Florida	Dr. The. Clarke, 1'
	Solarea	Clary	Syria	H. Eaft, esq.
				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

### TRIGINIA.

Black Pepper

PIPER

Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787 Claffe

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

LIPER

#### HORTOS EASTENSIS. Classis III.

### TRIANDRIA.

### MONOGrNIA

H. Eaft, efq. M. Wallen, efq. 1779 H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft efc. 1780	M. Wallen, efq. 1774 pe H. Eaft, efq. 1788 H. Eaft, efq.	H. Eaft, esq. 1790 H. Eaft, esq. 1791
Portugal India. America England Cape of Good Hope F	South of Europe Cape of Good Hope Aufria	Jape of Good Ho
Lamb's Lettuce Tamarind Tree Spring Crocus Rofe-coloured Ixia	Common Flag Dwarf Iris	Rufh-leav'd Lygeum S
Locusta indica fatrous rosea	communis ethiopica pumila	thyrfiftora Spartum
VALESTANA TAMARINDUS CROCUS LXIA	GLADIOLUS ANTHOLYZA IAIS.	

# TETRANDRIA.

M. Wallen, efq. 1783. M. Wallen, efq. M. Wallen, efq. 1773

Eaft-Indies

Oats Bamboo Cane Barley

fativa Bambas vulgare

Avena Arundo Hordeum

,	H. Eaft, efq. 1788 M. Wallen, efq. 1772
YNIA.	Candia
MONOG	Cretan Scabious Candia Sweet Scabious Italy
- Cheffeldon	cretica atropurpurea
Heart	SCABIOSA

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Spain South of Europe

Chili Britain India

HORTUS E	Starry Scabious Madder	Rib-wort Plantain	Chè	Ladies Mantle
.r. r.]	Rellata	globofa** lanceolata	quadrangularis umbellata	vulgaris
APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	RUBIA .	BUDLEJA	CISSUS OLDENEANDIA	ALCHEMILLA

F.J.	HOKIUSEA	EA
Rellata	Starry Scabious Madder	
globofa** lanceolata	Rib-wort Plantain	
quadrangularis umbellata	Chè	

H. Eaft, efq. 1788
Mr. Thame, 1790
H. Eaft, efq. 1788
M. Wallen, efq. 1772
H. Eaft, efq. 1791
H. Eaft, efq. 1791
H. Eaft, efq. 1791

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I A.	Britain Carolina Madeira
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H. Eaft, efq. 1774 Mr. Gale, 1772 Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787

#### Claffis V.

nov. Sp.

ILEX

#### PENTANDRIA. MONOGrNIA

HELIOTROPIUM	peruvianum	Per
ANCHOSA	officinalis	Bug
	7	
CYNOGLOSSUM	officinale	100
BORAGO	officinalis	Bor
PRIMULA	veris	Prir
	auricula	Aur
CYCLAMEN	perficam	Per
ASALEA	vifcofa	Wh
PLUMBAGO	rofea	Ben

Peruvian Turnfole Peru	Peru	H. Eaft, efq. 1788
Suglofs	Europe	H. Eaft, efq. 1774
Jound's-tongue	Britain	M. Wallen, efg. 1775
Sorage	England	M. Wallen, efq. 1772
Primrofe	Britain	M. Wallen, efq. 1780
Auricula	Auftria	H. Eaft, efq. 1790
Perfian Cyclamen	Candia	H. Eaft, efq. 1787
White Azalea	N. America	H. Eaft, efq.
Bengal Lead-wort	Bengal	H. Eaft, efq. 1787
. Hort. Kewenfis, vol	. i. p. 150.	

PHLOX

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

PHLOX

194

Mr. Thame, 1787 EASTENSIS. HORTUS Smooth Lychnidea APPENDIX to VOL. I.

Small purple Bind-weed Large purple Bind-weed Scammony Bind-weed burpureus major Stammonia glaberrima

CONVOLVUEUS

PHLOX

Trailing Bind-weed Perennial Bind-weed minor canarienfis (peciolus

Broad-leav'd Bind-weed ndian Creeper Bell-flower rotundifolia Quamoclit

Common Honeyfuckle St. Peter's Wort Hifpaniola Bark Coffee-Tree

Tartariana Honeyfuckle Marvel of Peru Great Mullein

Symphoricarpos Periclymenum

arabica

LONICERA

COFFEA

CAMPANULA CINCHONA \*

IPOMOEA

artarica

Falapa

Thapfus Metel abacum

VERBASCUM

MIRABILIS

NICOTIANA DATURA

PHYSALIS

SOLANUM

Hairy Thorn Apple Virginian Tobacco Winter Cherry

Common Potato Bolangena uiube-tree Egg Plant

Melongena

Alkekengi uperofum Sodomeum

RHAMNUS

DIOSMA

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775 H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft, efq. N. America America America Levant

Spain

Canary Iflands Eaft-Indies Eaft-Indies Britain

M. Wallen, efq. 1772

Mr. Thame, 1790 Carolina Britain

Hifpaniola

Wallen, efq. 1773 H. Eaft, efq. Ruffia

H. Eaft, efq. 1772 Eaft and Weft Indies America Britain Africa

H. Eaft, efq. 1779 South of Europe

Eaft-Indies Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1790 Cape of Good Hope H. Eaft, efq. 1788 Eaft-Indies

. Affinis Cinchone caribee.

VILLE THE KIND OF THE PARTY OF

147247

MANGIFERA

# HORTUS EASTENSIS.

	Lord Rodney, 1782 M. Wallen, efg. 1772	M. Wallen, efq. 1772.		Afia H. Eaft, efq. 1774	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775	Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1789.	1	Mr. Thame		H. Laff, efq. 1787	
ASTENSIS.	Eaft-Indies Europe.		Affa	Afia	China	Cape of Good Hope	South-America	Latt-Indies		Spain. Portugal		
HORTUS EASTENSIS.	Mango Tree Goofeberry	Red Currant Black Currant	Grape Vine Cockfomb	Buff-coloured Cockfcomb.	Cape Jafmine	Starry Gardenia	Galarips	Red Periwinkle	White Periwinkle	Red South-Sea Rofe	White South-Sea Role	Double Oleander
or. I.]	indica *	rubrum	winifera	var.	Horida	Thunbergia	cathartica	rofea	alba +	Oleander A. rubro	A. albo	A. pleno
APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	MANGIFERA		VITIS		GARDINIA		ALLAMANDA	VINCA		NERIOM		

### DIGTNIA

	* The Mango is inferted in its usual Place, although in reality it is Polygamious, and hitherto very imperfectly described.  -N. B. This Plant, with several others, as well as different Kinds of Seeds, were found on board a French ship (bound from a Iste de France for Hispaniola) taken by Captain Marshall of his Majesty's Ship Flora, one of Lord Rodney's Squadron, June 1782, and sent as a Prize to this island. By Captain Marshall, with Lord Rodney's approbation, the whole Collec-	
	\$2°24	
	hip dhe be	
4	R. R.	
٠. م	ren roud	
Eaf	Top I	
H. Eaft, efq.	ard e o	
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Africa	w w	400
A	oly seeds ijeft wi	-
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W-W	n re ent shal	94 0
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Shrubby Swallow-wort Auricula Tree	is di	*
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frutice gigant	wir H	
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	ranger, and	-
8	The Th	-
SCLEPIAS	The Be d	-
SCI	* The Mango is inferte -N. B. This Plant, with the Infe de France for Hifp of June 1782, and fent as	-

tion was deposited in Mr. East's Garden, where they have been cultivated with great affiduity and success.

† This plant first appeared here on a dunghist where the red had been thrown out, and has since continued stravent seed.

HORTUS EASTENSIS

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

STAFFER

	Cape of Good Hope The. Hibbert, efq. 1787 Europe H. Ezft, efg. 1790	10.		Mr. Thame, 1787	H. Eaft, efq.	Mr. Thame, 1787	Mr. R. Lloyd, 1787	of H Sab als two	Cape of Good Hope H. Eaft, efq. 1788	M. Wallen, efq. 1773	Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787	ETT LANGE OF SE	M. Wallen, efq. 1773 H. Eaft, efq. 1788
HORTUS EASTENSIS.	Cape of Good Hope	England		England Some	Spain. Portugal	Britain	Egypt	Britain	Cape of Good Hope	Britain	South of Europe	7	
HORTUS	Variegated Stapelia Mangel Wurfel	Common Beet	Globe Amaranth	Coriander Garden Parfnin	Dill	Caraway	Anife Parflev	Celery	Hottentot Cherry	Black-berried Elder	Elm-leav'd Sumach Virginian Sumach	PENTAG	Common Flax Sea Flax
70L. I.]	variegata bybrida	Carais	globofa	Sationm	graveolens	Carvi	Anifum	graveolens	Capenfis	mgra	Coriaria	Especial Control of the Control of t	ustatissmum maritimum
APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	STAPELIA	J. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	GOMPHRENA	CORIANDRUM	ANETHOM	CARUM	PIMPINELLA		CASSINE		Rave	A STATE OF THE STA	Linux

Claffis

#### Claffis VI.

# HEXANDRIA.

Mr. Shakespeare, 1782

H. Eaft, efq. 1785

Mr. Thame, 1773 Mr. Thame, 1773

Mr. Thame, 1773

Purple Spider-wort
Sweet-scented Narciffus
Polyanthus Narciffus
Jonquil
Blood-Flower
American Crinum
Ceylon Crinum
Ceylon Crinum
African blue Lily
Atamafco Lily
Atamafco Lily
Acciden Lily
Belladonna Lily
Belladonna Lily
Belladonna Lily
Belladonna Lily
Soow-drop Amaryllis
Sriped Lily
Striped Lily
Striped Lily

formofissma regina Belladonna

longifolia

SOTTEMBY ALL

ALLION

radiata

Atamafco

AMARYLLIS

Africanum

Satium

ler-wort Honduras

sed Narciffus Spain. Portugal
Spain. Portugal
Spain. Portugal
Spain
Crinum Guinea
Crinum Eaft-Indies
num Eaft-Indies
Lily Cape of Good H
Lily North America
South America
South America
South America
South America
South America
South America

Americanum Zeylanicum?

Fonguilla

vaniceus

HEMANTHUS

CRINDM

Tazetta

sanopa

discolor .

TRADESCANTIA

NARCISSUS

Eaft-Indies
Cape of Good Hope H. Eaft, efq. 1770
North America
South America
M. Wallen, efq. 1772
South America
H. Eaft, efq. 1790
South America
H. Eaft, efq. 1789
Afta
Africa
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Hort. Kewenfe, vol. i. p. 429; faid to be a native of Jamaica, but erroneoully. African Garlick

. Hort. Kewenfer, vol. 1. p. 403.

TERRES.

gracile +

	H. Eaft, efq. 1774 H. Eaft, efq.	Mr. Thame, 1789 H. Eaft, efq. 1788 M. Wallen, efq. H. Eaft, efq. 1782		90	Mrs. Brodbelt, 177
ASTENSIS.	i ka	STAR SA	S. of Europe England Eaff-Indies	Eaft-Indies Levant Cape of Good Hope Ceylon North America South-America	South-Carolin  Britain  T. N. I. A.
HORTUS EASTENSIS.	Onion Orange Lily Pomponian Lily	Purple Martagon Lily Superb Lily Tulip Star of Bethlehem	Branchy Afphodel Afparagus Dragon Tree	Tuberofe Hyacinth Cape Alerris Ceylon Aloe Superb Aloe	var. barbad. Barbadoes Aloe  Berbery  D I G T N I A.  Common Rice
	表表為	Martagon Superba gelneriana pyrenaicum		terrea tuberofa fl. pleno orientalis capenfis byacinthoides gloriofa aloifolia	draconis perfoliata var. barbad vukgaris fativa
APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	. I. Lician	GLORIOSA TULIPA ORNITHOGALUM	ASPHODILUS H ASPARAGUS F DRACENA	POLYANTHES HYACINTHUS ALETRIS YUCCA	ALOR BRAZERIS ORVER

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### HORTUS EASTENSIS.

TRIGYNIA Blunt-leav'd Dock Britain

M. Wallen, efq. 1773

#### ESCULUS ..

Hippocastanum Pavia Aava

Classific VII.

H E P T A N D R I A.

M O N O G T N I A. Yellow-flower'd Chefnut

Horfe-Chefnut

North Carolina North America

Mrs. Brodbelt, 1770 H. Eaft, eq. 1790 M. Wallen, eq. 1774

#### Class VIII.

Scarlet-flower'd Chefnut

OCTANDRIA MONOGYNIA

Scarlet Fuchfia Smooth Lawfonia Prickly Lawfonia Smooth Ximenia Indian Crefs tripbylla nermis bijuga pinofa nermis

TROPECLUM

MELICOCCA

XIMENIA FUCHSIA

South of Europe North America Eaft-Indies Eaft-Indies Madeira Africa

Madeira Whortle-Berry

Many-flower'd Heath

Araofaphylos

OENOTHERA

VACCINIUM

ERICA

LAWSONIA

South-America

H. Eaft, efq. 1785 Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787 M. Wallen, efq. 1784 H. Eaff, efq. 1784 H. Eaff, efq. Monf. Nectoux., 1789 M. Wallen, efq. 1774

> \* Botanift to the French King at Hifpaniola. Dwarf Primrofe

M. Wallen, efq.

HORTUS EASTENSIS. Africa The Akee APPENDIX to VOL. I.] Nov. GEN. \*

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1778

TRIGINIA

Litchi Plumb

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

\* This Plant was brought here in a Slave Ship from the Coast of Africa, and now grows very luxuriant, producing every Year large Quantities of Fruit; several Gentlemen are encouraging the propagation of it. I do not know that it has hitherto

been described; it's Characters are as follows:
CAL. Perianthium pentaphyllum inferum, foliolis ovatis acutis concavis, perfiftentibus, villoffs.

Petala quinque oblongo-lanceolata, acuta, villosa, ad basin sursum slexa et receptaculo adpressa, calyce alterna et eo

Filamenta octo breviffima, pilosa, ad bafin Germinis receptaculo glanduloso inserta. Antheræ oblongæ in orbem

circa Germen dispositæ et ejuidem fere longitudinis. Germen subovatum triquetrum pilosum. Stylus longitudine Germinis, cylindricus, pilosus. Stigma obtusum. Capsula carnosa, oblonga, utrinque obtusa, trigona, trilocularis, trivalvis, apice dehiscens.

Tria, orbicularia, nitida, appendice aucha.

Arbor hæc quinquaginta pedes altitudine plerumque superat; Truncus cortice subfusco scabro tegitur ramis numerosis longis crassis irregularibus, inferioribus ad terram fere dependentibus. Folia habet pinnata, foliolis ovato-lanceolatis venosis integerrimis oppositis lævibus superne nitidis, spithamæis, utrinque quatuor vel quinque, petiolis brevibus tumidis. Racemi simplices stricti, multistori axillares, longitudine sere pinnarum, pedunculis propriis unistoris, stipulis lanceolatis, ruso-tomentosis, persistentibus. Flores parvi albidi inodori. Fructus magnitudinis ovi anserini, colore stavo, rubro, Semini fingulo adnascitur materies albida (Semen magnitudine excedens) confistentize pinguedinis bovinze et Semina tria nitida nigra magnitudinis Nucis moschatze, quorum unum sæpissime aqua leniter cocta Medullæ haud absimilis. Ab Incolis in Guinea ad mensas apponitur vel per se vel Jusculo vel Pultis, rufo-tomentofis, persiftentibus. aurantiaco, vel ex utrisque mixto.

Hhs

Claffe

#### Class IX.

#### ENNEANDRIA NOGYNIA

Cinnamomum \* Campbora Saffaphras Borbonia Benzoin cetens ndice

LAURUS

North-America Virginia Carolina Madeira Madeira Ceylon aban Italy Carolina Bay-Tree Sweet Bay-Tree Royal Bay-Tree Saffaphras Tree Madeira Laurel Cinnamon Tree Camphire Tree Benjamin Tree

Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787 Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787

H. Eaft, efq. 1788

Mr. Kuckan, 1770

M. Wallen, efq. 1772.

Mr. Gale, 1772

Mr. Thame, 1786 Mr. Thame, 1786

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Lord Rodney, 1782

TRIGY Baffard Rhubarb

True Rhubarb

rbaponticum

palmatum

DECANDRIA

Eaft-Indies

Purple Bauhinia

purpurea

BAUHINIA

\* This Tree will doubtlefs in a few years become a very valuable Acquifition to the Island: some samples of the Bark lately fent to England prove it to be the true Ceylon Cinnamon, and of the best Kind. It is now cultivated with great Attention in H. Eaft, efq. 1790 many parts of the Island.

OLONG THO THE COLOR

•	790	1787	re, 1782	1784.
	H. Eaft, efq. 1790 H. Eaft, efq. 1790	H. Eaft, efq.	Mr. Shakefpea	H. Eaft, efq. 1784. M. Wallen, efq.
STENSIS.		Ægypt Eaft and Weft Indies		Eaft-Indies South of Europe.
HORTUS EASTENSIS.	Climbing Bauhinia Variegated Bauhinia	Senna Tree Sweet Caffia	ima var A. Aavo Yellow Flower-fence	Horfe-radish Tree Garden Rue
or. I.]	Scandens		pulcherrima var A. Aavo	Moringa *
APPENDIX to VOL. I.		CASSIA	Poinciana	GUILANDINA

\* This Tree has hitherto been generally confidered as a species of the Genus Guilandina, but very erroneously, as will appear from the following characters:

Perianthium pentaphyllum, foliolis oblongis obtusis concavis, tribus superioribus restexis, duobus inferioribus paten-

Petala quinque. Petala duo superiora magnitudine soliolorum calycis, plana obtusa restexa obovata; lateralia duo paulo majora concava obovata lunata minus reflexa; inferius spatulato-obovatum obtusum concavum, lateralibus majus,

et genitalibus approximatum, patens.

Filamenta novem, quorum quinque tantum fertilia, ad basin crassa villosa, versus apices contorta, longitudine inæqualia, antheræ quinque bicapfulares subrotundæ. Sterilia quatuor minora longitudine etiam inæqualia, antheris minimis vel nullis, omnia petalis fere dimidio breviora.

Germen oblongum. Stylus filiformis leviter curvatus, petalis et staminibus longior. Stigma acutum.

longum triangulare trivalve, utrinque acutum.
trialatum, alis lineis oblongis fibi invicem junctis. Nux fragilis rotunda. Nucleo rotundo trifulcato.
Arbor viginti pedalis, cortice cinereo; Rami patentes numerofi. Folia tri vel quadripinnata sesquipedalia, foliolis ovalibus obtufis tri-linearibus teneris integerrimis pedicellatis; glandula parva pedicellata intra fingulas foliolorum divisiones. Racemi axillares semipedales, calycis foliola subcarnea, petalis albis ad basin leviter purpureis. Pericarpium pedale subcatum, angulis acutis. Calycis foliola et petala sæpe irregulariter restexa et numero varia, sed Petalum inserius semper rectum et genitalibus approximatum.

APPENDIX to VOI	or. I.]	HORTUS EASTENSIS.	TENSIS.	
MELIA	Azederach	Bead-Tree	Eaft-Indies	
QUASSIA	amara	Bitter Quaffia	Guiana	Monf. Nectoux, 1789
KALMIA	latifolia	Broad-leav'd Kalmia	North America	H. Eaft, efq. 1786
1 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	anguflifolia.	Narrow-leav'd Kalmia	North America	H. Eaft, efq. 1786
RHODODENDRON	maximum		North America	H. Eaft, efq. 1786
	ponticum	land a straight of the	Gibraltar	H. Eaft, efq. 1786
ARBUTUS	Unedo	Strawberry Tree	Ireland	H. Eaft, efq. 1785
		DIGYNIA	I A.	
SAXIFRAGA	umbrofa	London-Pride	England	M. Wallen, efq. 1789
DIANTHUS	barbatus	Sweet-William Pink	Europe	M. Wallen, efq. 1772
AT THE REAL PROPERTY.	coryophyllus	Clove July-flower	England	M. Wallen, efq. 1772
a control of the second	Chinenfis	China Pink	China	M. Wallen, efq. 1772
	Superbus	Superb Pink	France	M. Wallen, efq. 1772
Nov. GEN.*	The Cartie of the Cartie	Mandarin Orange	Eaft-Indies	H. Eaft, efq. 1788

\* This Shrub has been introduced into our Gardens here from England under the above title, but I do not know on what

Authority: the following are it's Characters, as nearly as I have been able to afcertain them.

CAL. Perianthium pentaphyllum inferum, foliolis parvis ovatis erectis.

COR. Petala quinque, laciniis ovatis vel fubrotundis, erectis inferis, calyce duplo longioribus.

STAM. Filamenta decem circa Germen compressa, erecta, longitudine Corollæ. Antheræ parvæ simplices. Pist. Germen subrotundum. Stylus vix ullus. Stigma compressum.

Bacca lucida membrano tenui obtecta, pulpa paucissima. Duo, membrano proprio tecta, striata, pis magnitudine, ita ut duo applicata sphærum constituunt, et sorte semen unicum in duo fiffile.

Frutex quatuor pedalis inordinate ramofa, folia petiolata lanceolata-ovata alterna glabra integerrima; flores axillares congesti subsessibles. Corolla alba. Germen facie semulat fructum juniorem Citri Aurantii.

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

I I NOT IN THE I

### TRIGINIA

Armeria Lobel's Catchfly England
PENTAGYNIA

P E N T A G Y N I A.
South-Sea Plumb
Rofe Campion
Evergreen Orpine
South of France

Anacampferos

coronaria

AGROSTEMMA

SEDUM

SPONDIAS

SILENE

H. Eaft, efq. 1773

Lord Rodney, 1782

H. Eaft, efq.

H. Eaft, efq. 1791

#### Claffis XI.

# DODECADRIA. MONOGYNIA.

Triangular-ftalked Purslane St. Vincent Snow-drop tree Carolina Small Mangostein East-Indies

triangularis

PORTULACA

HALESIA

tetraptera cornea?

GARCINIA

Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787 H. Eaft, efq. 1789 Lord Rodney, 1782

RISIDA

Mignionette

TRIGINIA

Ægypt

M. Wallen, efq. 1773

\* This tree was at first supposed to be the true Mangostein, but having perfected it's fruit, on comparison with the description given of the true Mangostein, we judge it to be the G. cornea. Male and Hermaphrodite flowers are found on the same tree.

Claffis

#### Classis XII.

# ICOSANDRIA.

Dwarf Syringa Sweet-scented Syringa Spanish Goofeberry Cochineal Cactus Rofe-Apple cochinillifer aromaticus coronarius Fambos Perefia communic PHILADELPHUS EUGENIA MYRTUS

Narrow-leav'd Myrtle Broad-leav'd Myrtle Dutch Myrtle var. romana

Granatum A. pleno communic AMYGDALUS

Double flower'd Pomegr.

Nectarine tree Almond tree

Peach tree

Apricot tree Cherry tree

Armeniaca domefica Cerafus PRUNUS

DIGYN

Plum tree

Monf. Nectoux, 1789

H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft, efq. 1787 Z. Bayly, efq. 1762

South of Europe

New Zealand

. South-America South-America M. Wallen, efq. 1773

M. Wallen, efq. 1774 M. Wallen, efq.

Tho. Clarke Wallen, efg. Ď.

Africa

Mr. Kuckan, 1773 . Wallen, efq.

England England

H. Eaft, efq. 1773 H. Eaft, efq.

North America

Cockfpur Hawthorn

Hawthorn

Oxycantha Crus Galli

CRATEGUS

WEEKENT VO

Britain

## HORTUS EASTENSIS.

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

VECKEDIX O A OTTO

# PENTAGYNIA

100		FENIAGINIA.	YN I A.	TOTAL STREET, OF TAKE
MESPILUS	germanica Pyracantha	Dutch Medlar Evergreen Thorn	England Italy	H. Eaft, efq. 1774 H. Eaft, efq. 1774
PYRUS	Malus	Apple tree	Britain	M Wellen of
Voughtes.	Cydonia	Quince tree	Germany	M. Wallen, efq. 1773
MESEMBRYANTHE-	cryfallinum	Ice-Plant	Greece	H. Eaft, efq. 1787
SPIREA	Ulmaria	Meadow-Sweet	Britain	M. Wallen, efq. 177;
Declaration	SANTO CONTRACTOR	POLYGY	NIA	14 37 c 86 8 35
Rosa	lutea	Yellow Austrian Rofe	Germany	H. Eaft, efq.
-	cinnamomea	Cinnamon Rofe	South of Europe	H. Eaft, efq.
C154.03	centifolia	Hundred-leav'd Rofe	Spain	H. Eaft, efq.
CERTONE COLUMN	damafeena	Damask Rose	France	M. Wallen, efq.
	gallica	Red Rofe	South of Europe	M. Wallen, efq.
The	mufcofa	Mofs Rofe	France	H. Eaft, efq.
	mofebata	Mulk Rofe	Italy	H. Eaft, efq.
	auba auba auba auba auba auba auba auba	Supper-Raise Rofe	Britain	M Wellen of
Rusus	ideus	0 0 0 0		die de marie de la contraction del la contraction de la contractio
A PART OF THE PART	var. ruber	Red Rafiberry	Britain	M. Wallen, efq. 177
FRAGARIA	velca	" mice sembours		Mr. wanten, end. 1/1
Watership and	var.	chiloenf. Chili Strawberry	Chili	M. Wallen, efq. 177;
		The same of the sa	The state of the s	

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

#### Classis XIII.

# POLYANDRIA.

		MONOGY	N I A.	
CAPPARIS	Spinofa	Caper Shrub	Italy	H. Eaft, efq. 1774
PAPAVER	Rhaas	Red Poppy	Britain	
THEA	viridis	Green Tea. Tree	China	
	Bobea	Bohea Tea-Tree	China	
CARYOPHYLLUS	aromaticus *	Clove Tree	Molucca Islands	
CISTUS	populifolius	Poplar-leav'd Ciffus	Portugal	
	incomus	Hoary-leav'd Ciffus	Portugal	
	crifpus	Curled-leav'd Ciffus	Portugal	
	Tuberaria	Plantain-leav'd Ciffus	Portugal	
DELPHINIUM	grandiflorum	Great-flower'd Larkfour	Siberia	
	Comfolida	Branching Larkfpur	England	
No.	elatum	Bee Larkfpur	Siberia	
		Chinefe Larkfpur	China	
ACONITUM	Napellus	Wolfsbane	France	
		PENTAGYNIA	r N I A.	M. Alexander and April 18
AQUILEGÍA	vulgaris	Columbine Flower	Britain	M. Wallen,
NIGELLA	damascena	Fennel Flower	Spain	Z.

<sup>\*</sup> Two of these Plants were presented to Doctor Clarke by Monsieur Nectoux, from the King's Garden at Port au Prince; they appeared in a very luxuriant State of Growth on their Arrival, but have since died.

HOPTHOPT

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

### HORTUS EASTENSIS.

### POLYGYNIA

Horidanum Tulipifera grandiflora autumnalis Flammula acuminata bortenfis glauca indica LIRIODENDRON RANUNCULUS ATRAGENE MAGNOLIA CLEMATIS LLLICIUM ANEMONE ANNONA ADONIS

Anifeed tree
Tulip tree
Laurel-leav'd Magnolia
Swamp Magnolia
Blue Magnolia
Cherimoya
Garden Anemone

Florida
North America
Carolina
North America
South America
Italy
South America
England
Britain

H. Eaft, efq. 1787
H. Eaft, efq. 1776
Mr. Gale, 1772
Mr. Gale, 1772
H. Eaft, efq. 1788
H. Eaft, efq. 1786
M. Wallen, efq. 1773
H. Eaft, efq. 1788

M. Wallen, efq. M. Wallen, efq. 1773

#### Classis XIV.

Wood Crowfoot

Virgin's Bower

Flos Adonis

### Grmnospermia.

Garden Savory
Hyflop
Catmint
Common Lavender
French Lavender
Tooth'd-leav'd Lavender
Canary Lavender
Loon-wort

Garden Savory
South of Europe
South of Europe
Canary Illands
Madeira

borten fis officinalis

SATUREJA

HYSSOPUS

NEPETA

Cataria

multifida candicans

SIDERITIS

Stechas

Spica

LAVANDULA LAVANDULA

dentata

H. Eaff, efq.
M. Wallen, Efq. 1774
H. Eaff, efq. 1787
H. Eaff, efq. 1787
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1784
H. Eaff, efq.

			.6		H. Eaft, efq.	M. Wallen, efq.				H. Eaff, efq.		H. Eaft, efq. 1788	M. Wallen, efq. 1774	M. Wallen, efq.		M. Wallen, efq. 1773	H. Eaft, efq. 1773	H. Eaft, efq. 1787	H. Eatt, elq. 1784	H. Eatt, elq. 1788	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775		H. Eaft, efq. 1788	Monf. Nectoux, 1789	Tho. Hibbert, efq. 1787	
TENSIS.	England	England	Britain	Britain	Britain	Britain	Sicily		Italy	Spain	Britain	Sweden	Moldavia	Perfia	RMIA	England	Italy	Britain	Switzerland	Carolina	Peru	Eaft-Indies	India	Sicily	Eaft-Indies	Cape of Good Hope
HORTUS EASTENSIS.	Spear-Mint	Pepper-Mint	Pennyroyal	Ground Ivy	Wood Betony	Horehound	Pot Marjoram	Sweet Marjoram	Garden Thyme	Maffick Thyme	Balm ,		Moldavian Balm	Sweet Bafil	ANGIOSPERMIA	Snap-dragon	Toad-flax	Purple Fox-glove	rellow Fox-glove	I rumpet-nower	Upright Browallia	Vanglo, or Oil Plant	Thorny Barleria	Chafte tree	Prickly-fruited Pedal.	Honey-flower
L. I.]	viridis	piperita	Pulegium	bederacea	officinalis	vulgare	Omites	Majorana	vulgaris	maffichina	officinalis		Moldavica	Bafilicum	-	majus	afarina	purpurea	ambigua	Catalpa	elata	orientale	prionites	Agnus Caffus	Murex	major
APPENDIX to VOL.	Mentha	AND SECTION	The state of the s	GLECOMA	BETONICA	MARRUBIUM	ORIGANUM		Тнумия		MELISSA	DRACOCEPHALUM	Service Comments	Остмим		ANTIRRHINUM		DIGITALIS		BIGNONIA	BROWALLIA	SESAMUM	BARLERIA	VITEX	PEDALIUM	MELIANTHOS

H. Eaft, efq. 1788 H. Eaft, efq. 1773 H. Eaft, H. Eaft, H. Eaft, H. Eaft, England South of Europe Germany Germany Britain Britain SILL 2000 Pepper-wort Garden Crefs Sweet Alyffon Hoary Alysson Scurvy-grafs Horfe-radifh Candy-tuft Honefly balimifolium Armoracia latifolium fativum umbellata oficinalis Incanum COCHLEARIA LEPIDIUM ALYSSUM LUNARIA IBERIS

M. Wallen, efq. 1772 M. Wallen, efq. 1772 H. Eaft, efq. 1772 H. Eaft, efq. 1772. M. Wallen, efq. Eaft, esq. 1772. Wallen, esq.

Italy Spain Hungary Britain

Night-fmelling Rocket White Mustard

Queen's Stock Ten-week Stock

Wall-flower Water-crefs

Britain Britain

Britain England

Eaft,

Nafturtium Cheiri ncanus annung CHEIRANTHUS SISYMBRIUM HESPERIS BRASSICA SINAPIS

Rapa Rapa oleracea

Red Cabbage Savoy Cabbage

Common Cabbage

Turnep

Trong and

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

RAPHANUS

Turnep-rooted Cabbage Brocoli

Garden Radish var. 1. Turnep Radish

2. Black Radish

Claffis XVI.

ONADELPH

South of Europe Cape of Good Hope ENTAND Mallow-leav'd Geran.

H. Eaft, efq. 1788 e H. Eaft, efq. 1788 e H. Eaft, efq. 1788

Cape of Good Hope

Coriander-leav'd Geran.

Horfe-shoe Geran. Oak-leav'd Geran.

Mantle-leav'd Geran.

Cape of Good Hope

Cape of Good Hope

H. Eaft, efq. 1788 H. Eaft, efq. 1788

GERANIUM

coriandrifolium alchimilloides malacoides zonale

quercifolium Radula

betulinum Bobemicum capitatum vitifolium

Hermannifolium Levigatum

Salmatium

Balm-scented Geran. Rofe-scented Geran. Birch-leav'd Geran.

H. Eaft, efq. 1788 H. Eaft, efq. 1788 H. Eaft, efq. 1788 Eaft, efq. 1788 M. Wallen, efq. Wallen, efq. Cape of Good Hope I Cape of Good Hope I Cape of Good Hope I Cape of Good Hope 
DODECAND

Eaft-Indies

Dr. Thomas Clarke, 1775

PENTAPETES

Scarlet Pentapetes

phanicea

Appropriate Ilas I

# HORTUS EASTENSIS. APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

## ADANSONIA LAVATERA HIBISCUS SIDA ALCEA MALVA

digitata	Monkies-Bread
indica	Indian Mallow
rofea	Holly-hock
cabenfis	Cape Mallow
crifa	Curl'd Mallow
rotundifolia	Dwarf Mallow
thuringiaca	Great-flower'd I
bobulneus	Poplar-leav'd Hi
mutabilis	Changeable Rofe
Rola finentis	China Rofe
friacus	Althæa frutex
ficulneus	Fig-leav'd Hibil
Trionum	Bladder Hibifcu
Sabdariffa	Sorrel Hibifcus
7	

Japan Rofe

Japonica

CAMELLIA

ries-Bread	Senegal	H. Eaft. efc.
n Mallow	India	H. Eaft, efc.
y-hock	China o presobe	M. Wallen, efg. 1
Mallow	Cape of Good Hope	H. Eaft, efq. 178
d Mallow	Syria	H. Eaft, efq. 177
rf Mallow	Britain	Captain Jones
t-flower'd Lav.		M. Wallen, efg. 1
ar-leav'd Hibifc.		H. Eaft. efg. 178
geable Rofe		M. Wallen, efg.
a Rofe	China	M. Wallen, efq.
ea frutex	Syria	M. Wallen, efq.
eav'd Hibifcus	Ceylon	H. Eaft. efo. 17
der Hibifcus	Cape of Good Hope	H. Eaft, efg. 178
el Hibifcus	India	100
n Rofe	Japan	H. Eaft, 1787

## Claffe XVII.

## DIADELPHIA. DECANDRIA

Carolina

Herbaceous Coral-tree

berbaca	grandiflora	junceum	Scoparium	monofpermum
ERITHRINA		SPARTIUM	The state of the s	

South of Europe Britain arge flowering Coral-tree White-flower'd Broom Common Broom Spanish Broom

GINISTA Mr. Gale, 1772 H. Eaft, efq. M. Wallen, efq. 1773 M. Wallen, efq. M. Wallen, efq. G

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APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	[1]	HORTUS EASTENSIS.	ENSIS.	
GENISTA	candicans	Hoary Genista Furze or Whin	South of Europe H. Eaft, efq. 1788 Britain M. Wallen, efq.	H. Eaft, efq. 1788 M. Wallen, efg.
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	capenfis	Cape Furze	Cape of Good Hope	H. Eaft, efq. 1782
Cholotohia	retufa	Wedge-leav'd Crot.	Eaft-Indies	71: 110: Crare
CROTALARIA	verrucofa *	Blue-flower'd Crot. Pale-flower'd Crotal.	Eaft-Indies Africa	H. Eaft, etq. Dr. Tho. Clarke, 177
	laburnifolia	Shrubby Crotalaria		H. Eaft, efq. 1791
ONONIS	rotundifolia		erland	H. Eaft, efq. 1791
ARACHIS	hypogea	Earth Nuts or Pindars	South-America	
LUPINUS	albus	White Lupine	Street Bush	M. Wallen, efq. 1773
	varius	Blue Lupine		M. Wallen, elq. 1773
	angustifolius	Vellow Lupine	Sicily	M. Wallen, efg. 1772
PHASTOLUS	vulgaris	Kidney-bean	Milita.	
Dolichos	Lablab	Black-feeded Dolichos	Egypt	H. Eaft, efq. 1789
	finenfis	Chinefe Dolichos		H. Eaft, efq. 1789
GLYCINE	triloba		India F. A. Idian	n. Ean, eiq. 1791
CLITORIA	H. albo	White Clitoria	East-Indies	All the state of the state of
Pisum	fativum.	Garden Pea	of Europe	M. Ballett, orderand
LATHYRUS	odoratus	Sweet Pea	Sicily	M. Wallen, efq. 1773
	var.	Painted Lady Pea	Ceylon	H. Eaft, efq. 1781
	tingitanus	Tangier Pea		H. Eaft, efq. 1781
		* Hort. Kew, vol. iii. p. 20.	20.	

latifolius	Broad-leav'd Pea	road-leav'd Pea England	H. Eaft, efq. 1781
Laburnum	Common Laburnum	Aufria . Faft-Indies	M. Wallen, efq. 1773
hilpida grandiflora	Rofe Acacia Large-flower'd Acacia.	Carolina Eaft-Indies	H. Eaft, efq. 1786 H. Eaft, efq. 1782 H. Faft, efq. 1782
• valentina arabica	Shrubby Coronilla Arabian Coronilla	Spain	H. Eaft, efq. 1788
ESCHYNOMENE grandiflora	Small Coronilla Pea-tree Egyptian Pea-tree	South of Europe Eaft-Indies	H. Eaft, elq. 1788 J. G. Kemeys, elq. 1774 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
aquatica gyrans purpurea jacobarus	Swamp Pea-tree Moving Plant Purple Galega Dark-flower'd Lotus	Eaft-Indies Eaft-Indies Azores	H. Eaft, efq. 1780 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775 H. Eaft, efq. 1790 H. Eaft, efq. 1790
polymorpha var.	var. feutellata Snail Medick a Hedge-hog Medick Classific XVIII.	Europe	H. Eaft, esq. M. Wallen, esq.
Р	POLYADELPHIA.	P. H. I. A. R. J. A. South-America	S logge with disk in
ant after	Maple-leav'd Ambroma	New South Wales	H. Eaft, efq. 1791

# HORTUS EASTENSIS.

D O D E C A N D R I A.
Fine-leav'd Monfonia Cape of Good Hope H. Eaft, efq 1791
I C O S A N N D R I A.

Speciola

MONSONIA.

CITRUS

var. 1. Lemon-tree Citron-tree

2. Lime-tree

4. Forbidden-fruit-tree Sweet Lime-tree

Seville Orange-tree 5. Grape-fruit-tree

India

China Orange-tree

Aurantium

Decumana

POLYANDRIA St. John's-wort Chinese St. John's-wort Shaddock-tree

H. Eaft, efq. 1788.

. B 17.5.

balcaricum

HYPERICUM

Claffs XIX.

S Y N G E N E SOT A.

Garden Lettuce.

LACTUCA

LEONTOBOR

# POLYGAMIA SUPERFLUA.

M. Wallen, efq.,	H. Eaft, efg. 1778 H. Eaft, efg. 1775 H. Eaft, efg. 1784 M. Wallen, efg. 1770	H. Eaft, efq. 1780 M. Wallen, efq. 1973	H. Eaft, efq. 1772 H. Eaft, efq. 1774 Mrs. Duncomb, 1783 M. Wallen, efq. POL
Britain S. of Europe	Cape of Good Hope Cape of Good Hope Cape of Good Hope China	Italy Britain Mexico	Nowth America Sicily Britain Britain
Garden Tanfey Southernwood	Strong-Gented Everlafting Shewy Xeranthemum Shrubby After Chinele After	Italian After Field Daify French Marygold	Red Einnis Garden Chryfanthemum Camomile Milfoil, or Yarow
oulgare Abrotonum	faridum Specialfimum fruteofus	Amellus perennis potula eresta	multifora egronarium mobilis millefolium
TANAGETUM ARTEMISIA	CHAPHALIUM KERANTHEMUM ASTER	BELLIS TAGETES	CHAYSANTHEMUM ANTHEMIS ACHIELL

LAZ EVZLEMEIE

## APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

## HORTUS EASTENSIS.

# POLYGAMIA FRUSTRANEA.

LELIANTHUS annuus Con indicus Dwittuberofus Dwittuberofus Jeru laciniata hirta Am	Common Sun-flower Dwarf Sun-flower Jerufalem Artichoke Virginia American Sun-flower Britain Blue-bottle	Mexico Brazil Virginia Canada	H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft, efq. H. Eaft, efq. 1789 H. Eaft, efq. 1790 M. Wallen, efq. 1774
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# POLYGAMIA NECESSARIA.

South of Europe M. Wallen, efg. 1773 Cape of Good Hope H. Eaft, efg. 1783 M. I. A.	Monf. Noctoux, 1789 M. Wallen, efq. 1773 H. Eaft, efq. 1789	Mrs. Brodbelt, 1769 M. Wallen, efq. 1773
South of Burope Cape of Good Hope	Virginia Britain Britain	Eaft-Indies
Garden Marygold South of B Marygold Arctoria Cape of Go M O N O G A M I A.	Blue Cardinal-flower Sweet Violet Double-flower'd Violet	Heart's-cale or Panites Garden Balfam
officinalis calendulacea	sphilitica odorata var.	tricolor Balfamins
CALENDULA ARCTOTIS	LOBELIA	IMPATIENS

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

Claffes XX.

G Y N A N D R I A.

D I A N D R I A.

Tuberous-rooted Limodorum North America
Chinefe Limodorum South America
Vanilla tuberofum Tankervillie

H. Eaft, efq. 1787 Mr. Thame, 1787

## TRIANDRIA bermudiana SISTRINCHIUM

EPIDENDRUM

LIMODORUM

PENTANDRIA Brazil

Water Lemon Paffion Flower

maliformis?

PASSIFLORA

bicolor \*

CALLA

M. Wallen, efq. 1780

P O L Y A N D R I A. Painted Arum

Cape of Good Hope H. Eafl, efq. 1787

\* Hort. Kew. vol. iii. p. 316.

大× 多る

SCREENS EVELTH

Claffes

## Claffe XXI.

MONOECFA. MONANDRIA

Indian Jaca Tree

equiscrifolia entegrifolia

ARTOCARPUS"

CASUARINA

Eaft-Indies Eaft-Indies"

H. Eaft, elq. 1788: Lord Rodney, 1782.

M. Wallen, efq. H. Eaft, efq. 1782-

Britain Eaft-Indies

Large Reed-mace Job's Tears Annual Phyllanthus

TRIANDRIA

latifolia Lacryma Jobi Niruri PHYLLANTHUS

TETANDRIA

Leffer Nettle White Mulberry tree Common Mulberry tree

Common Nettle Box-tree

fempervirens

dioica arens

URTICA Buxus

Garolina . Chuna

Red Mulberry tree

papyrifera

alba nigra rubra

MORUS

ENTANDRIA

M. Wallen, efg.
M. Wallen, efg.
H. Eaft, efg. 1784:
M. Wallen, efg. H. Eaft, esq. 1774 H. Eaft, esq. 1779

AMARANTHUS

APPENDIX IS VOL. 1.

melancholicus

Two-colour'd Amaranth

BOKINS FVALENCIE

M. Wallen, efq. 1773. tricador

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cruentus tricolor

SAME THES

QUERCUS

## Bloody Amaranth

Evergreen Oak-tree

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

Eaft-Indies

POLYAND Three-colour & Amaranth

South of Europe

South of Europe N. America Virginia Britain Perfia

White Oak-tree

Red Oak-tree

Cork tree

White Hickery tree Common Oak-tree Walnut tree

TUGEANS

FAGUS

Dwarf Chelnut tree Chefnut tree

American Plane tree Hazel-nut tree Oriental Plane tree

> PLATANOS CORTLUS

Lerant North America MONADELPHIA

Weymorth Pine tree Common Pine cree Siberian Ane tree Chifter Pine free Stone Pine tree

Cembra

Pinca

Strober

M. Wallen, efq. 1773

H. Eaft, efq. 1787
H. Eaft, efq. 1787
Mr. Thame, 1788
Mr. Wallen, efq. 1773
M. Wallen, efq. 1774
M. Wallen, efq. 1774
Mr. Jones, 1786
Mr. Jones, 1786

North America

North America

England North America

M. Wallen, efg. 1775 M. Wallen, efq. M. Wallen, etq. 1775 
North America

Cermany

Tireya

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]	L. I.]	HORTUS EASTENSIS.	E N.S.I.S.		488
THUJA	orientalis	Chinde Arbor Vitze	China	H. Baft, efq. 1775	
CROTON	femper Onen. frida var. frida borizontalis difficha juniperoides febiferum	Upright Cyprels tree Spreading Cyprels tree Deciduous Typrels tree African Cypsels tree Tallow-tree	Candia Candia North America Cape of Good Hope China	H. Eaft, efq. 1773 Mr. Thame, 1786 Mr. Salt, 1786 H. Eaft, efq. 1789 John Ellis, efq. 1765	
		SYNGENE	ESIA.		
MOMORDICA	Balfamina Charantia	100	India Eaft-Indies		
Coccasita	Pepo	Pumpkin Gourd	· District	A Chan Side 13.18	,
KVCha	Cirulius	Water Melon	South of Europe	Hoch and	
	Dudaim	Apple-shap'd Cucumber	Levant	H. Eaft, efq.	•
L'arer:	fations fexuolus	Common Cucumber Turkey Cucumber	- C.	AT A STATE CALL TANK	
Sicros	angulata	Chocho Vine	America	8841 311501 316	
Office		D I O E C I A.	A Section of Action		
		MONAND	RIA.	507 - 1039 and 1030 a	
PANDANUS	oderatifimus .	Screw Pine	Ceylon	Lord Rodney, 1782	
APPEARING NOT		THE ROLL OF STREET	T Mais		DIAN

Sabylonica

Weeping Willow Raly

H. Eaft, efq. 1783 TETRANDRIA

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Myricia. .. cerifora

SALIT.

PENTANDRIAL
Piffachia tree

Turpendine tree

South of Europe Pistachia tree
Turpentine tree

Garden Spinage

officinarim Teredinibus Lentifeus oteracea fatros

N SPINABIA

PISTACIA

H E X I N D R I A

Seriex Sarjaparilla

Z. Bayly, efq. 1765

M. Wallen, efq.

India.

H. Eaft, efq. 1791

O C T A N D R I A.

Tacamahat Poplar tree

balfamifera

POPULUS.

SCHINUS

Peruvian Malick tree 111 Peru

H. Eaft, efq. 1783 Cleffe,

HOLTUS EVEL

## Claffer XXIII.

# POLY G A MITA.

This Tree is noticed by Sir Hans Sloane in his Natural History of Jamaica, as having been imported from the Coast of Guinea, and planted in the mountains of Liguanea; it still continues to grow there, as well as in many other parts of the South Side of the Island; the following Characters were taken from a Tree growing in the Garden, which perfected its fruit

Monopetala quinquepartita infera, Inciniis ovațis acutis crassis subvillosis, firiațis patento-ereclis. Neclarium con-

Filamenta decem brevissima vel nulla. Antherm didymae in orbem dispostræ et extus Nestarii dentibus constræ. Germen subrotundum quinque-suscatum hirfusum. Stigmata quinque erasta restexa subcontorta, germini incumbentia. Capsula magna suborata gibbosa, leniter incurvata, unilocularia, sutura dorsali prominente.
Plura angulata imbricata, singulum cortice coriacco proprio obtectum.

De The Care to

CAL. & CAR. ut in Flore hermaphrodito, sed ; majores. STAM. ut in Flore hermaphrodito.

Pist. Germen nullum. Stigmatum quinque rudimenta parva e medio Nectarii orta.
Arbor inelegans ramola, cortice fubfulco truncus tegicur; folia habet alterna pedicellata integra oblonga venola glabra.

TALT SUES

ころに の 対公文の意味

## HORTUS EAS JENSIS.

Eaft Indies

16+

Dr. The. Clarke, 1790 H. Eaff, efg. 1787 H. Eaff, efg. 1790

Catappa Pleudo-Platanus fenfitiva farmefians nilotica TERMINALIA MINOSA ACER

Red Maple Senfitive Plant Sycamore tree

Gum Arabictree
Egyptian Senfuive
Gum Senegal tree
D I O E Sweet-scented Mimosa

Eaft-Indies Virginia Brazil

Egypt

Lord Reducy, 1782 The. Hibbert, Efq. 1787

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

H. Eaft, efq. 1788 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Sicily South of Europe TRIOBCIA St. John's-bread Manna Ash

CERATONIA BICUS

FAAXTNUS

Sago Palm Date Palm-Tree

PROFRIX

Eaft-Indies

Dr. The. Clarke, 1775

onosis. Racemi compositi breves, plerumque è ramie majoribus erti. Corolla lutea, lacinize striis tribus purpureis in-us notatze; odor valde ingratus. A Nigritis in Jamaica vocatur Bichy vel Colu, et ibi semina per se vel cum Sale et

END .. VOL. L

is and delibered reprinciple in Japanica rocates Bich, and Colin, or for femina, the Strate and Col.	Dr. LPo Carps Talk	Dr. 3.10 Crays, 1412	PART TO CALLS AND	Tho. Hibbar. Ed. 1987	H. E.B. oid: 188	A Part of Cher 182	いたというないないないないないでは、ないでは、
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